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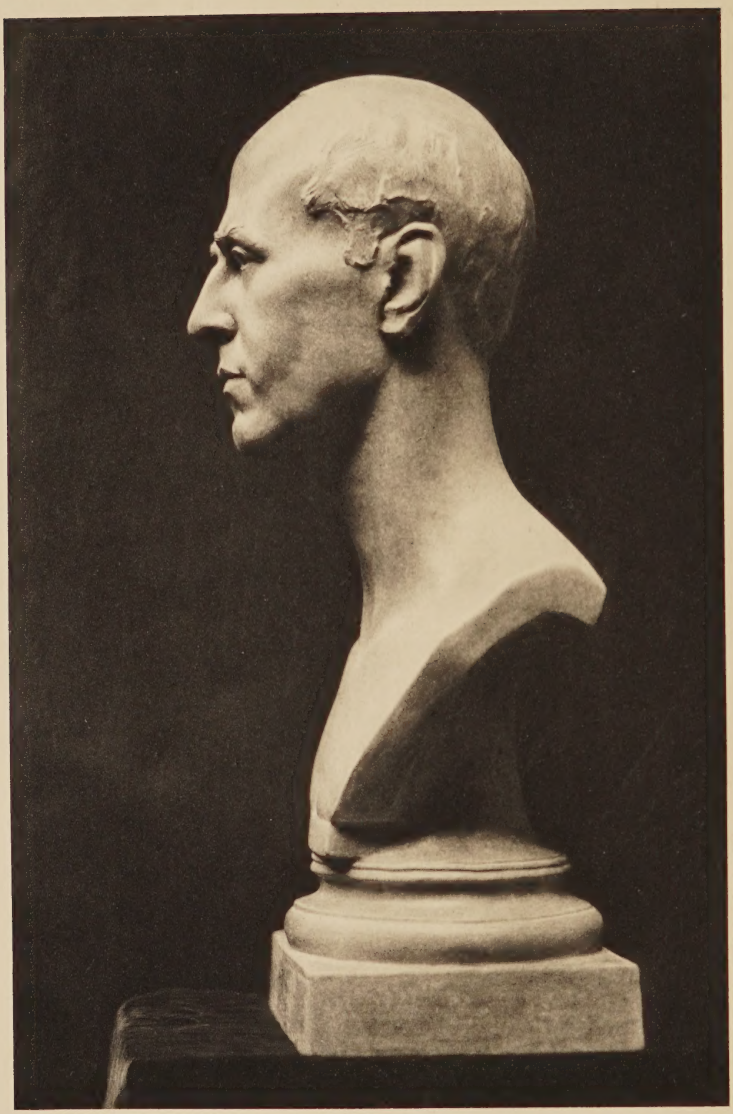
ROBERT A. WOODS

Champion of Democracy



ROBERT A. WOODS

Champion of Democracy

BY

ELEANOR H. WOODS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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TO

OUR NEIGHBORS

IN CITY AND IN COUNTRY

WHO WITH THEIR UNDERSTANDING

HAVE CHEERED THE WAY

THIS BOOK IS

DEDICATED

PREFACE

Mr. Woods died the 18th of February, 1925, after an illness of eight weeks. So familiar was his figure in the everyday scenes of Boston that those who knew him could not believe that within that brief time they had not been seeing him going and coming across the Common to his wonted appointments.

In the division of the responsibilities which his death entailed upon others, I chose the privilege of this biography which the companionship of our marriage seemed naturally to give me. I have endeavored to keep his spirit alive within the compass of his thoughts transcribed in his own terms, with such personal touches as the memories of myself and others who worked with him could restore.

It has been my desire to keep fresh for some the sense of his companionship; to offer to others the means of making acquaintance with his prophetic outlook, and an opportunity to draw upon his courage, energy, and judgment as a fresh inspiration in time of need, as many have done in the past.

When the material had been assembled from the accumulated notes and addresses of years of interpretation of the movement of which Mr. Woods was a part, there proved to be far more than enough for a single volume. It became clear that the book should be chiefly a coherent choice of his own exposition. The quotations are, therefore, the essential part of its pages. They have been chosen largely from unprinted material or from printed sources, such as the South End House Reports, not easily accessible to readers. In a few cases, however, I have used the addresses assembled in 1922 into a volume entitled 'The Neighborhood in Nation-Building,' to which those interested in following his commentary of thirty years of service can easily refer. There are many sentences and

phrases too briefly quoted to interrupt the reader with an exact reference.

But no record of his thought would alone convey a sense of the person whom we knew as we lived and worked with Mr. Woods. He was a man of action, and it has been important to try to suggest something of the coming and going from morning till midnight which an active city life demanded of him. This is my part of the book which he once proposed we should sometime write together. The answer to his question, 'What shall it be about?' is in these pages.

I desire to express my appreciation to several friends and colleagues who could recall incidents of value out of their associations with Mr. Woods. The manuscript has been read by Miss Ellen Coolidge, Miss Lillie M. Peck, Mr. Albert J. Kennedy, and Miss Esther G. Barrows, representing settlement interests, and as far as possible I have made use of their suggestions. I am indebted also to Mr. Henry G. Pearson and Mr. Stedman Buttrick for advice in the preliminaries of writing, and especially to Mr. Ferris Greenslet for his very suggestive opinion both as to the form and nature of the biography which should be written. To the friends whose sympathetic understanding has lent courage for the undertaking, I would express my gratitude; particularly is it due to Miss Marion Keyes, Miss Grace Keyes, Mrs. M. A. Mahan, and to my brother, Mr. Samuel Prescott Bush.

ELEANOR H. WOODS

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ROBERT A. WOODS

CHAPTER I

A PITTSBURGHER BY BIRTH

Robert Archey Woods came out of Pittsburgh; he was born on the borders of the 'Town beyond the Mountains' December 9, 1865. He belonged to the racial strain dominant in the making of that great industrial city — the Scottish people bred during two hundred years in the difficult economic and political conditions of the North of Ireland.

They were the last of the Puritans; Pittsburgh was 'the most Calvinistic town in the world, with all that means of good and not so good. The manners and customs showed about equal traces of pioneer days in the Ohio Valley and the traditions of the old country.' Unlike neighboring sections of Ohio, 'Pittsburgh owed nothing to successive waves of migration from New England.' Philadelphia had been their port of entry and Pittsburgh the gateway to economic freedom in the possession of the fertile soil of the New West, but the city itself attracted those accustomed to the life of the mercantile center. They gave to it something of a British flavor, and many of the streets looked very like those you would see in Glasgow or Belfast. These people belonged distinctively to the middle class, the rise of which was the characteristic American social development of the early nineteenth century.

Robert Woods, senior, came to the United States as a young man from the region of Londonderry, Ireland, much as he might have gone to Belfast to enter a commercial occupation, so close at that time were the ties of acquaintance between the two parts of the Scotch-Irish world. He

had a deep affection for the 'old country,' which he several times revisited. In Pittsburgh he entered a business office and remained with the same concern for thirty-five years. He married, in 1859, Mary Hall, the daughter of Isaac Gillespie Hall and Catherine Campbell.

Mr. Hall brought his bride from Belfast to Pittsburgh in 1827; he owed his start in life in America to a maternal uncle, who seems to have played the part of father to the children of a widowed sister.

Mrs. Hall was Catherine Campbell, of Stewartson, Ireland, the daughter of a country squire who had died before her marriage. About his memory there hung vague rumors of fox-hunting proclivities. She was possessed of some education, unusual for women of that time, and in her old age could still repeat some of the Latin verses of Virgil in which she had been tutored by a Catholic priest, though the family was Presbyterian. Her mother and sisters remaining in Ireland, there continued during her life to be active intercourse with the old country.

After a few years of living in Pittsburgh, the Halls bought a considerable farm in Ohio some fifty miles from the city. The daughters, of whom there were six, continued, with the exception of Mrs. Woods, to make the neighboring town their home as they married. Of the two sons, the Reverend Isaac Hall was a person of distinction in the circles of the Presbyterian Church in Ohio. He was described as a born leader of men and one who knit his friends to him with bonds of steel.

Mr. and Mrs. Woods made their home in East Liberty, then a rural community with access to the Pittsburgh schools. There were five children, of whom the eldest, Elizabeth, was fourteen years the senior of Robert. James and William, the two brothers between, were nearer in age to Elizabeth, but Robert had a boyhood companion in Leonard, two years younger than himself and so entitled 'my little brother.'

'The Scotch-Irish with their contrasted traits of sturdiness and ardor have two great separate interests — in-

dustry and religion.' Mr. Woods was closely identified with the strong religious current of his time in that section of the country. It was soon after his marriage that the movement for the United Presbyterian Church culminated. After seventy-five years of effort to bring about the union of two offshoots of the General Assembly of Scotland, it was accomplished, 'born of the spirit of life in a revival.' The organization of the new body took place in Pittsburgh in 1858. Mr. Woods became one of the founders of the church in East Liberty instead of following the traditions of his family in Ireland and becoming an Episcopalian.

The rigors of Calvinism, which were 'firmly held and emphatically preached' [1] in the denomination, were softened in the case of Mr. Woods by his gentle nature, which left its definite impress on those who came under his influence. He governed, but by the affections, and he had a faculty of creating harmony among those about him. A story is told of his being away from home over a Sunday and of his seeking out a place of worship. He found himself in a Methodist church and, following his habit, attended both the service and the Sunday School. It happened that in the latter a class of older girls was without a teacher. Perhaps he had told the superintendent of his work in the Sunday School of his own church, where he had for many years a similar class. At any rate, he took this group of the twittering, restless age; they began to giggle. Then he asked them the number belonging to the class and continued, after receiving their answer, 'There are nine of us here now.' The girls counted only eight and disagreed with him; 'Jesus is with us also,' replied Mr. Woods, and had their quiet attention through the lesson.

Robert and Leonard had a certain resourcefulness in making up their own games which their father encouraged as being of educational value. In some of these amusements Robert's excellent memory played its part, and in the making of playthings he had some manual dexterity. In the childhood reminiscence of a member of one of the

[1] George P. Hays and others: *Presbyterians.*

families with whom the Woodses were intimate, there is the recollection of a party of all ages at the Woods home, where, after the observance of prayers, as was the custom, the children were led off to the dining-room by Robert, who produced games and directed their play.

A school companion, belonging to the close circle of church and social life which surrounded them, said that he was going to catch hold of Robert's coat-tails and get carried into the next grade; he thought they would go so fast that the teacher wouldn't notice him. A more serious estimate of that age was that Robert, though not older, always seemed to his companions more mature. 'Intellectually, he left us all as though we were standing still, for I can well remember that, when we got to a certain grade in the public school, it was not long until his superior ability was recognized and he was at once promoted to the next grade, so that from then on we never caught up with him. Our admiration for his ability and achievements was unbounded, and we were always proud to have him as a friend. . . . While he always had a wonderfully happy nature and was always apparently heart and soul in all our sports, he seemed, at the same time, to have a seriousness that showed he was looking ahead. His happy nature was always in evidence and his whole being radiated buoyancy and optimism. He always seemed to know that he had a mission in life and was preparing for it.'

By pushing ahead in school, Robert was in a class where he found his level of ability so that in high school he was not especially conspicuous as a student, but he was a recognized arbiter in his class which relied on his fairness of judgment. A picture of him in these years is associated with the study of elocution in which they were well disciplined by an able teacher whom they greatly respected. Robert, somewhat rotund of figure and of a ruddy countenance, struggled in restless fashion about the stage, but generally managed to come through the ordeal with reasonable success. This practice made them useful in Sunday School recitals in which as a boy he did his share.

Robert's imagination was stimulated by his father's journeys to England and Ireland. The talk of the Old World lived vividly in his mind and often brought in later years a quizzical, reminiscent smile as he referred to 'my native land.' Related to that familiarly discussed country there moved, in the background of the Woods home, shadowy personalities from the not-so-distant past. Occasionally, indeed, a traveler would appear with claims of Irish cousinship, and once, it was said, Uncle Archey and Aunt Betty Woods arrived for a visit, but, liking Ireland better than Pittsburgh, thither they returned. Mrs. Woods's great-uncle, Dr. Leonard Gillespie, stood out from the shadow most clearly, for of him there was an interesting portrait-engraving in uniform. The following letter gives reality to his existence:

On board His Majesty's Ship
'The Victory'
at sea off the coast of Sardinia
Jan. 7th, 1805

Mrs. Jane Hall,
Armagh, Ireland:

DEAR SISTER:

I did myself the pleasure of writing to you in great haste on the 29th inst. being at that time on board H.M. Ship 'The Swiftsure' off the coast of Catalonia on my way to join this ship, which I effected on the 2nd inst. and I am at present fully established in my office as Physician to this fleet, which is, thank God, in the best possible order as to health, discipline, spirits, and disposition towards our gallant and revered commander in chief, Lord Nelson.

It may amuse you, my dear Sister, to read the journal of a day such as we pass it here at sea, in this fine climate and in these smooth seas, on board one of the largest ships in the navy, as she mounts 110 guns, one of which carrying a 24th shot, occupies a very distinguished station in my apartment.

At six o'clock my servant brings a light and informs me of the hour, wind, weather, and of course the ship, when I immediately dress and generally repair to the deck. Breakfast is announced in the Admiral's cabin which when finished we repair upon deck to enjoy the majestic sight of the rising sun, scarcely ever ob-

scured by clouds in this fine climate, surmounting the smooth and placid waves of the Mediterranean which supports the lofty and tremendous bulwarks of Britain, following in regular train their Admiral in the 'Victory.'

Between seven and two there is plenty of time for business, study, writing and exercise. . . . At two o'clock a band of music plays till within a quarter of three, when the drum beats the tune called 'The Roast Beef of Old England,' to announce the Admiral's dinner. . . then if a person does not feel himself perfectly at his ease it must be his own fault, such is the urbanity and hospitality which reign here, notwithstanding the numerous titles, the four orders of knighthood worn by our Lord Nelson, and the well-earned laurels which he has acquired. . . .

March 16, 1805 — Off Barcelona. His Majesty's ship the 'Renown' is just upon the eve of departure for England, by which I send this enclosed to my friend W. Steward.'

Affectionately remember me to all the children. Let me beg you not to indulge Leonard too much, but keep him to his book. Do not forget to give them the allowance I mentioned in a former letter for pocket money. Let me hear from you at every opportunity. Remember me affectionately to all our friends and relatives, and believe me to be your ever affectionate brother

LEONARD GILLESPIE

But the younger Robert belonged to his own time; family tradition played small part in his growth to maturity. When he was fifteen, his father died, and the following year he was ready for college. His mother was eager to give both the younger boys whatever education they would take. It was natural to think that Robert might have, like her brother, a distinguished career as a Presbyterian minister, but, though eager that such a future might be his, she was not a woman of compelling force in gaining her ends. Robert was left free to choose his path while with affectionate solicitude she watched his progress, never quite convinced of his wisdom. The first direction of his course fell to one of his high school teachers.

It was in the nature of things in Pittsburgh that not the university, but the high school, should be the outstanding educational institution, as the one wrought out to meet

specifically the American social conditions found in middle-class life. But the high school was the best of its kind. The teaching staff counted men from both Ohio and Eastern colleges, among whom was a recent graduate of Amherst College, Henry Gibbons, teacher of the classics. Mr. Gibbons regarded Robert Woods on first acquaintance with some disapprobation, thinking him indolent. As he grew to have very friendly relations with the boys who were contemplating college and became their adviser, he found the fact to be that Robert was given to fruitful meditation far beyond his years. Expression, too, was active enough to make his writing matter of comment among his schoolfellows and to stir his aspiration for the literary art.

There were five boys who decided to go to Amherst College, not because Gibbons told them to, but that he said to go where there were at least two good teachers and he could name three at Amherst — Seelye, Garman, and Morse. Robert, now growing to a tall man's stature, was the youngest of the group. For him it was a definite break from Pittsburgh; except for the incidents of summer vacations, with the experience of earning something as a bank messenger, the current of his life soon set in another direction. He was not to the manner born of that city of great economic adventure, with its accepted traditional morality and definite lack of moral enterprise; 'though,' as he has said, 'Pittsburgh has never been a place to emigrate from. The only deserters were those who found it in them to care for a reasonable measure of cultivated life, difficult to secure in a town where there was not a library worth the name until 1895 and where a whole winter would pass without a single lecture on a significant subject intelligently treated.' It was always a regret to him that his own adventure, in its time, would have been unfruitful there.

CHAPTER II

A NEW ENGLAND EDUCATION: AMHERST COLLEGE

Amherst College, founded in 1821, was as characteristically American as academies and high schools antedating it. It belonged to the high tide of moral energy following upon the economic and political discords inherited by the nineteenth century from the period of the American Revolution. The little towns of western Massachusetts dug deep into their limited resources to establish education on a basis that 'could face and overcome ignorance, barbarism, immorality, and irreligion'; that would 'discipline and train the best and strongest young men and send them out to be leaders and inspirers of the community.' Its early years were those of a 'period of experiment and adventure, of faith in the perfectibility of man, and even in his desire to be reformed and perfected. . . . It was followed by a revival of common sense and religion.' [1]

Of the spiritual kinship between the inland Puritan movement of the early settlement of the Connecticut Valley and that which was carried west of the Alleghanies by later immigrants, enough survived, even as late as 1882, to keep the son of United Presbyterianism from feeling himself a stranger among New England Congregationalists in the land of Jonathan Edwards. Robert Woods found himself in an atmosphere congenial to his thought and tastes when he entered into the traditions at Amherst which sixty years had wrought into a broad culture unafraid of either science or religion. The physical surroundings, as well, were not without a familiar quality to one who knew the steep but fertile slopes of western Pennsylvania and had lived above the turbid tributaries of the great river at whose headwaters lay the city of Pittsburgh, not yet arrived at her majority of obliterating smoke. He

[1] John Mason Tyler: *The First Hundred Years of Amherst College.*

found a wider valley with its broad but sinuous and slower moving river of clearer water than his native streams, and an alluring prospect of wooded hillsides; in fact, more rugged than those about his home, but of a gentler mien — the Pelham Hills loved by sons of Amherst.

It was wholly a man's world in which he was now to live for two thirds of the time. The society of women did not find place in the surrounding facts of life; no family acquaintance in either New England or New York existed to provide the natural opening of a near-at-hand social intercourse. Not that Smith College, six miles away in Northampton, was not then as now a social escape, but for Woods there was but one essay at calling on a college girl. This by no means indicated lack of social gift nor of appreciation for the charm of women; at vacation time in Pittsburgh his own generation of both sexes held him in esteem; he appeared always, as the years passed, with unaffected *bonhomie*, dressed with considerate good taste which, with his high color still persisting and his height of six feet, lent distinctive character to his appearance.

In company with two of the Pittsburgh companions, Bigham and Kenngott, Woods roomed in the 'Octagon,' a house still a familiar object in the village of Amherst. He did not join a fraternity till the last year because of the Presbyterian bringing-up which then held strongly against secret societies as it did also against drinking.

Bigham, himself a hard student, found Woods's methods of studying something of a puzzle, in fact not quite deserving the name. For one thing, he had the newspaper habit badly, by which he succeeded in digging out a surprising amount of information with which he was willing to part and did indeed, as an interpreter, make really interesting. Then he had a curiosity about people, and, from a careful study of the catalogue of students' names and in other unknown ways, he picked up a knowledge about most of the men in college. He seemed to care very much about persons and to consider the professor more important than his subject.

During the visits home, Mr. Gibbons usually had them at his house for an evening chat about college affairs. He observed that Woods had too much to say about his dislike of mathematics, an affliction shared with his friend William Evans, also one of the five. Finally Mr. Gibbons decided to give some advice to the effect that it was most important to conquer mathematics and suggested devoting all of his time, if necessary, for two or three months until he understood the subject. At the end of that time Woods wrote a letter, saying: 'I have followed your advice about mathematics; I am doing quite well in the subject and I like mathematics.'

The story of undergraduate years may now, happily, become partly autobiographical, thanks to notes prepared for a class reunion and an address at the Amherst centenary:

One of the most distinct impressions of college days on my memory is that of a side issue. But side issues may sometimes furnish forth a parable to show the significance of main issues.

Three times I spent the spring vacation at Amherst. In a sense it was a real vacation only as a horse race on the stage is like a real horse race — the horses mark time, while the background shifts. But eliminate all class-work, with the striving to meet duties or to escape them, and one could effectually transform Amherst into a 'dear lovely bower of innocence and ease.' Looking across twenty years, the rain and mud of April in Amherst may be forgotten.

A certain piquancy was given to one's disregard of time and the hour by the continued regular service of the college clock. The leading figures in the local drama were changed — towns people for a brief moment assuming precedence and authority, the academic Olympians being either absent or flitting shorn of power and ghost-like.

Every day or two saw its tramping expedition — to the Notch or to Sugar Loaf for a climb, to Orient for the first arbutus, or in advanced seasons to the woods along Freshman River to capture the first botanical specimens. I can remember one occasion when some declamations were solemnly rehearsed in a beautiful pine grove beside the railroad half way to South Amherst. If there

was a favoring dispensation of weather, the base ball season and the tennis season were both introduced without the uncomfortable presence of the great in either of these fields of action.

Two pursuits in which we soaked ourselves during the spring vacation were whist and novel reading. Spring vacation, partly because it seemed to be snatched from under the eaves of the college, made one feel possessed of shoals of time. It is hard to understand now how anyone could have been so care free. By playing whist — the plain old-fashioned sort with five hundred points as the game — one came to have something of Garman's loyalty to the game, and could understand how, at his wedding, as soon as the ceremony was safely over, he proposed a game of whist in order to escape from being congratulated. For myself a good share of the 'long, long days' were filled with Hawthorne, whose acquaintance I first made in spring vacation, and who came nearer to being a liberal education for me than all but two or three of my college studies. Then there were the little evening parties at Jack Hall's house — to which all the members of the class in town were invited, and each one was made wholesomely welcome.

It might be said that spring vacation was without the cardinal influences of college life. On the contrary, it carried over by a strong momentum some of those things in undergraduate existence which were unduly minimized while college was in session. One had free time to come into thorough relation with the minds and natures of a number of fellow students, to reach common ground with men who under ordinary circumstances one hardly knew at all. In spring vacation there went on many of those talks which were possible only in the days of one's youth, talks 'boundless, endless and sublime — a wilderness of verbiage, irrigated everywhere with that inextinguishable Homeric laughter,

> 'Oh the time went by like a tale that's told
> In a land of song and mirth.'

I have a feeling, too, that there is a certain touch of affection that I feel for the country about Amherst that would be missing if there had not been a few times when it exerted its influence without any conflicting claims. Spring vacation, thus gave a few of us a special variation on one of the best results of the whole course at Amherst — intimacy with living and growing nature and human nature; the dramatic interplay of equals, superiors and inferiors in collegiate seniority and dignity against the back-

ground of the pageantry of the seasons in this exquisite valley. This of all that made college life, 'we remember yet, with a fond regret.'

No doubt many of the possibly more fortunate majority who spent spring vacation at home found much of the same quality in it which I have been suggesting — not eventful, functionizing like the Christmas holidays, not a relapse into a totally different existence as in summer — simply the coming to the surface of undercurrents of term-time interest.

Those who had to remain in the Amherst barracks had nothing, however, to make up to them of any of the social joys of home and neighborhood, in which the departed majority were finding pressed-down and running over satisfaction. Spring vacation at Amherst by emphatic contrast in this respect suggests the greatest defect in our college training, the result of unprofitable shortsightedness in one respect of the members of the faculty. I cannot remember that any lonely fellow ever had a friendly overture during spring vacation from a professor. Indeed, in our day, few, very few students and they very rarely, had any experience of unaffected hospitality during the entire four years' course. Yet that is what Amherst College is for. It is to bring a certain limited number of youths into the very atmosphere of cultivated men's lives, to infect them with personal standards of taste and conscience and give them an unmanageable enthusiasm for high achievement. We get unspeakable value out of association with our fellow students. We could have had and were entitled to have had a full measure of comradeship and intimacy with the members of the faculty — such experience as a few members of the class had with Garman in getting out the philosophy papers or with Genung in his evening seminars.

Not to fail of full appreciation of Amherst, even in those respects where spring vacation seemed to suggest deficiencies, I may be pardoned if I tell of a slight experience at the end of the college course which contains a personal reference. This experience showed that the college did ascribe a certain definite value to the amenities of life, even if it were at the expense of college studies that they were pursued. When the final marks were made, Professor Mather, looking over the list and selecting out the names of Billy Fitch, Dan Kellogg and myself from among those whose diplomas were to focus only in that sparing adverb *rite*, urged that the net result of our years at Amherst might be more than the marks indicated, and managed to secure faculty

action to override the records and have three more degrees given *cum laude*. It was a modest triumph for those who had lived in a certain spring vacation atmosphere during the whole of the college year.

There was quite another side of life at Amherst of which Woods could draw the picture:

> Amherst men missed one of the finest and most enlarging forms of instruction under President Seelye who did not make a practice of attending missionary meetings under his leadership. He was of statesmanlike mould and had relinquished distinguished prospects of public service to become a college president. But it was as a spiritual philosopher that he inspired his students with the possibility of new ways of throwing the rein to Christian motive. In one of his most solemn utterances he declared that no career could be of higher service to the nation than that of the educated man who should go among the people and in largeness of mind and heart join with them in working out the labor problem. It was largely under such influence that the sense for moral adventure turned in a direction which has given the college one of its chief marks of distinction for the second half century. I refer to services of Amherst graduates as teachers and field workers in the present-day domain of social reconstruction.

One of the greatest disciples of this 'peerless teacher' succeeded him in the department of philosophy: Charles E. Garman began his teaching at Amherst in 1881 when 'New England, particularly the strata from which Amherst College drew its students, was in a period of religious transition . . . it was a fundamental issue between a religious or a non-religious view of the world and life,' says the memoir by his students. In Woods's volume is scored this sentence, 'He did not consider the course a success unless every member of the class reached, not indeed an identical result, but a method, an ability to weigh evidence, a spirit of intellectual honesty, patience, and thoroughness that would neither jump at conclusions, balk at difficulties, nor shy at novel and unwelcome truths.' To this must be added Woods's own memory of the classroom shared and treasured alike by so many Amherst men:

The old-time revivals had passed away; but the latter part of Garman's course was like a series of protracted meetings in the full light of modern day, in which every student, by means of modern instances and in terms of the present crisis, was brought face to face with the issues of God and humanity, of freedom and immortality. Who can forget the heavenly light on his face, as not sparing his students the rigors and dangers of the path, he patiently disclosed the way first up on to the heights of faith, and then onward into the valley of decision.

It was a special good fortune for Woods, in the light of both his early religious teaching and of his future career, to have had such guidance. His own problem, coming out as he did from a community that 'cultivates definite restraints and reassurances rather than aspiration,' was to get safely away from the doctrinal aspect of his Calvinistic environment, descended in part from the Covenanters of Scotland, 'whose history was written in blood and whose monuments are the covenants and the martyrs' graves,' and yet to hold to the integrity of that same heritage which contributed in his personal life to his fortress of spiritual reality.

The reconciliation of the new scientific thought with the spirit of the past without resentment for errors of doctrine was thereafter an effective source of strength in his life. His career owed much to the fact that 'Amherst College was often in advance of its times in encouraging new views and especially in the part which it gave to science in the curriculum'; that 'it was one of the very first centres in the country at which the old philosophy of individualism was eliminated and the new teaching of the organic unity of mankind developed in its moving power'; and that he was able to say out of personal experience of President Seelye, 'No one in the history of the college has set forth more decisively the logic of the gospel as the indispensable life force of every civilization.'

One effect of the intellectual and spiritual awakening that came in senior year was the fellowship it engendered among students. Men who had known Woods somewhat

during the three preceding years came 'to have an increasing appreciation of his fine Christian spirit, his noble enthusiasms.' One of his classmates, Mr. George H. Buck, says:

In some ways I was very intimate with him, in others I saw little of him. I was attracted to him from the beginning of our college course but did not come close to him till senior year when we were drawn together by our common interest in Professor Garman's course in philosophy. Great new worlds of thought and feeling were opened to us. We spent much of our leisure together. Our exercise and our pleasure was long walks in the country. Walking or sitting in our rooms we talked over the many problems, philosophical or theological, or social and general, problems of the times, exploring those vast realms of inquiry to which Garman first introduced us. We did not attempt technical metaphysics but broad and general outlooks. Our method was never controversy or mind sharpening or partizanship or adverse criticism. We were looking for truth and hope and breadth of outlook in all directions. Robert's mind was peculiarly sympathetic and stimulating. He helped me to discover the best within me. He demanded the best in his friends, drew it out, even created it. When together, we would sit or walk for long periods without speaking but with great mutual help and comfort.

Yet another of life's values had its important place in these undergraduate days for which, as his own story tells us, Robert Woods made his own choice of a master. The reading of Hawthorne put its clear mark on two stories which appeared in the *Amherst Student*; they hold as well a clue to something in his nature more important than an artistic style and deeper than formal ideas of philosophy and religion. The apparently superficial interest in people which he had shown was animated by an instinctive search for the profound sources of personality. He casts this sense of the great mystery of life into the mould of silent tragedy in a remote scene, the latter perhaps suggested by his father's talks of England and Ireland. In both stories the interest centered in a countenance and the effort at deciphering there the origins of its character. 'What im-

pressed me most in those features was not the simple attractiveness of their beauty but a strange contradiction in them. If expression ever indicates character, the marks of a smothered conflict were there; there was an element of perplexed mysticism striving for the mastery. . . . The disturbing element which had raged in that soul making its impress on her lovely face, was the question of Life . . . my problem was solved but I was not satisfied.'

He would have read with a sympathetic reflection of his own experience Evelyn Underhill's 'Theophany':

> 'I cannot find my Dear, for he is hid
> Within thy living symbols, that conceal
> The simple, secret thing they promise to reveal.'

The mystic note, though never dominant, remained a part of the broader harmony of his later life.

Meantime, with the close of college days came some recognition for these treasured gifts of feeling. He was an editor of the college paper during senior year, and at Commencement he was chosen to deliver a paper, prepared for a competition, because of its literary merit and originality of thought.

During the four years at Amherst, across the sweep of the broad Common, in the brilliance and stress of the seasons, under the shade of the elms, in the pulpit and on its platforms, permeating bricks and mortar with their pillared fronts of quiet austerity, an alchemy had been set free by messengers from seething cities not far away, and from distant mission fields distinguished from early days by Amherst men. Henry Ward Beecher, revered graduate, brought with him rugged truth out of a great city parish and enthralled the students with fraternal discussion on the college steps. Lyman Abbott came with still another message of attractive practical import; the new religious journalism of which he was the noteworthy exponent suggested a fulfilling medium for practical Christian thought. Washington Gladden, not far away in Springfield, Francis Peabody at Harvard University, and William J. Tucker,

lately gone from a New York pastorate to teaching at Andover Seminary, were, says Graham Taylor of those days of his own early ministry, 'voices crying in the wilderness' as to the practical steps for preparing a way for better men in a better society. The problem of young men who caught the conception of the need of social service independent of religious exposition was how and where to make their lives effective with maintenance for the purse. An answer was to be furnished by the pioneer out of their own number.

Further preparation for being in and of the world, however approached, was evidently necessary. Robert Woods and three of his class, George Hooker, George Kenngott, and Allan Cross, decided to go to Andover Seminary, attracted by the men there who were 'blazing new trails,' especially by Dr. Tucker with his fresh knowledge of city problems.

CHAPTER III

ANDOVER SEMINARY: FOUR YEARS OF PREPARATION — FOR WHAT?

Four years were now to be spent as a special student at Andover Seminary, whose buildings stood on a square at the crest of an ascending elm-shaded avenue in one of the most charming towns of eastern Massachusetts. Though it lacks the expanse of valley and sweep of hills of the Amherst scene, Andover gains a superior dignity from the substantial dwellings of its prosperous colonial period. The social life of the faculty and students was mutually more inclusive than at Amherst but student-living still savored of the barracks.

Woods had not quite attained his majority when he entered and his passion for the literary art was strong upon him. The new order is chronicled in a diary which opens:

> *Sept.* 10, 1886: My first day as a theologue. The change from college makes life seem strange. Am resolved to try to make it as bright and happy as my college life. It is not 'always Sunday' in any man's life — not at least if the old Sabbath ideas obtain. Have on my table 'Septimius Felton' and 'American Communities' by Hinds.

His later interest in practical Utopias, always with him an instigating conception, had been already stimulated and had led during the previous summer to a visit to the Harmony Community not far from Pittsburgh.

One of his first pieces of independent work after reaching Andover was the writing of an article descriptive of 'Economy,' the home of the Harmonists, and as his diary notes, accepted by *The Christian Union*. Though the picture was sympathetically drawn, he was critical in his judgment as to finding there any real contribution to a nobler way of life:

ROBERT A. WOODS
When at Andover Seminary

In their prosperity they have gone on adding year by year to their hoard without adding visibly to their means of comfort and culture. If they have cherished frugality and humbleness, it has been to the neglect of the greater duty of self improvement. . . . The loss of individuality, the loss of family life, are atoned for by no social pleasures. . . . Under the absorbing influence of work and economy alone they pass an existence devoid of spirit and sentiment.

Dr. Tucker's teaching and preaching became at once thought-provoking, leading to these reflections: 'Sometimes God rides upon the storm, but his progress is slow because he waits to lead man, his blind and stumbling child, toward the wondrous goal of the race.' 'Professor Tucker on the importance of *Creed* besides *trust* as an element of faith. Have doubts as to the need of anything but submission to the good. And yet must not a man's purpose be defined in his creed?'

Fortunate were those of that day who were able to accept scientific discovery as an illumination for the religion of life rather than an assault upon cherished theological strongholds. It was noticed by those who met Amherst men in theological seminaries that they suffered far less distress of mind than many of their contemporaries from the discussion as to the validity of church dogmatism which characterized with its vehemence the next to the last decade of the nineteenth century. In going to Andover, Woods and his classmates entered the storm center of this controversy. It was the eve of the trial for heresy in which Dr. Tucker and four of his associates on the faculty were the defendants. One of them, Professor George Harris, was an Amherst graduate and became later its president. The outcome was awaited by veteran churchmen of all denominations with the same kind of concern that the tide of battle brings. To one who, as a child, had known the intense interest of a clergyman-father in this fight for liberal teaching, it seemed strange even years after to meet a man who, having lived close to the conflict, bore no afflicting scar of intellectual bitterness. Woods records the mental attitude

of both himself and many of the other students at the Seminary with a single reference to the great event:

> Attended the first session of the Andover trial. More than ever impressed with the depth of soul of Professor Smyth [one of the defendants]. He is the seer of the new Theology. He has the courage of devotion to the truth and the humility of one always learning and continually more impressed with the greatness of truth.

To this should be added Woods's definition of 'devotion': 'Devotion is not consent to go a certain way and then march onward in measured tread. Devotion fastens all the living centre of its soul upon the object at the end of the journey and lets the new relation alone determine the way, and the rules of progress.'

Again it was the personality of the men and the search for truth that counted. They belonged to a new day in which, as Professor Smyth urged, 'the Church should be willing to trust men imbued with the Christian spirit in their efforts to follow out the critical investigations of the Bible.' But, though the authority of the members of the faculty was not impaired and their heterodoxy received acquittal, the outlook for young men with such liberal views desiring to enter the ministry was sufficiently serious in the years that Woods remained at the Seminary. Though nourishing other hopes for his own future, he could not wholly escape some of the unhappy effects through his sympathies and the shock to his trust in men.

From such matters in his first year he could still escape to the re-reading of Hawthorne and to the drift of imagination to which it gave impulse.

'I saw the Past and the Future go to meet over the grave of the Present. The Future went before lightly, yet not unaware of its solemn beginning; the Past tottered sadly after knowing that the narrow mound was the limit of despair for all its long and hapless line'; and again: 'What a spiritual charm the dark garb of mourning throws around a young and beautiful girl! The heavy flowing

folds seem a fit background for a face which sees only with quiet contemplation the things of this world, because gazing with intensity into the next. . . . Have finished second reading of "The Scarlet Letter."' 'Like the body of the child struggling up into life is the mind of man as it blindly longs and strives for the light of thought, to comprehend.' Turning also to history: 'Thus slavery was honestly justified by the ancients. How terrible a sin it was, continued under the light of the gospel of the equality of all.' In the midst of such solemn reflections comes the relieving touch of youthful fellowship: 'A reunion — Ed. Fallows, Sam Seelye, Josiah Dickerman. This makes necessary the old class yell.'

He continued throughout the year to be much absorbed with material for character sketches which should be imaginatively rendered to express the idea of a mysterious force at work, and for a time was disturbed by the challenge of realism to this idealistic literary form, finding reenforcement for it in his response to music. Gradually facts about people's lives as he came to know them gained the ascendancy in his interests. The turning of his thought to simple portrayal found an outlet in sketches from life, one of which appeared in print and presents with appreciative feeling the old man seen about the town:

> He walks with the shuffle and some of the unsteadiness of age; yet there is a firmness in his gait, showing strength not so much of the body but the spirit. . . . The old man is a kind of animate means of grace. There is something about his worn face and quiet earnest manner that attracts and then inspires. We believe and are glad that hope will not fade from those eyes and that strong purpose will bear up to the last those limbs even now ready to falter. He is said to have had a history; he carries with him something of prophecy, too.

But at the same time in these first months he was realizing his own religious bent definitely foreshadowing the future:

> That man may reach God, it is necessary for the individual to secure his true reaction to his fellow-men. This is his *calling*.

The deep interest in one's calling becomes thus the 'enthusiasm of humanity' and this 'passion' gives direction to our progress. This enthusiasm represents the spirit of God in our effort or in our calling just as the beauty of the physical world represents the spirit of God in the material universe. In both he energizes alike throughout. As God is always greater than His works, as He is more than nature, so the spirit of God in us is greater than this passion for our calling, or 'enthusiasm of humanity.' So it almost insensibly passes over into the general and inclusive devotion to God, striving after God. But when clouds obscure the rapt vision (whether they be of trial or preoccupation), we kneel at His shrine by loving His world of beauty or by glowing over the work He has given us.... I seemed to see these great thoughts after my soul had passed under the spell of the sunset.

> 'Hence in a season of calm weather
> Though inland far we be,
> Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
> Which brought us hither,
> Can in a moment travel thither,
> And see the children sport upon the shore,
> And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore.'

During the first year he studied Constitutional History, with the reading of De Tocqueville, Von Holst, Guizot, Bagehot, etc., and Systematic and Biblical Theology. It was a year especially full of the joy of the intellectual and spiritual life; 'often there was a boyish exultation over the messages of books and nature; for the first time new ideas came.' He was constantly reflecting on what he read and formed the habit of treasuring ideas and quotations for serviceable use.

What strange results come from the combining of one new thought with another. Thus Puritanism plus the Revolutionary spirit brought about the Transcendental movement of 1830.... De Tocqueville speaks of the intensely materializing influence of a specializing occupation. Now would not the practice of some regular avocation different in kind from the daily work be of immense importance in elevating labor?

The second year was devoted mainly to Political Economy and Socialism, with the reading of Jevons, Walker,

Marx, De Lavelye, Rae, George, etc. He became also the regular correspondent of *The Christian Union* for Andover Seminary, a coveted opening looking to a possible appointment with this progressive journal. The hope of an immediate opportunity seems to have failed as the year came to a close, and with the consequent increased uncertainty as to the future added to 'the process of theological and ethical doubt,' he was brought to a state of depression and skepticism that was hard to fight. 'This time was to a large extent taken with merely holding my ground.' He could not wholly rid himself of this state of mind during the two remaining years at Andover, and since he would not, nay, could not develop a call to the ministry he was without any prospect of a professional opening. Even so, the years were most fruitful, for he was brought more and more into the current of the practical thought of the time in close association with the pioneer course in social science which Dr. Tucker was now introducing into the Seminary.

His reading was reënforced by human intercourse for which there was the older approach through country parishes and the new avenues opening with the development of Dr. Tucker's plans.

The practice ground of the Andover theologue was found in the rural districts of Maine and New Hampshire. To one of these Robert Woods became attached, making warm friends in the family of the deacon with whom he stayed, and finding in the surrounding community a real field for the bent of his mind for deciphering human character. Several sketches from the life thereabouts found their way into print. But even more it was a source of understanding of country problems to which he not infrequently reverted. 'I lived for a short time in one of the beautiful intervales which run between the outer peaks of the White Mountains, where almost every day has its own particular glory; and yet there were very few people who had at all caught the spirit of the mountains.'

This experience constituted, in fact, a first step in his analysis of social conditions which was to become such an

important factor in the success of his future work. In speaking five years later on 'Social Christianity in the Country' based on the knowledge then being acquired, he did so with recognized authority.

He preached for the first time in the spring of 1888 on the reality of the spiritual life.

ANDOVER, *Oct.* 6, 1888

DEAR MOTHER:

Your welcome letter came Thursday. I am sorry that you are alone so much. You ought to have some reading. A good book is one of the best of companions.

I read with interest the papers you sent about the centennial. I guess I have a good deal of Pittsburgh loyalty left. I hardly knew whether to laugh or weep over your question 'Do you never expect to live in Pittsburgh again?' The fact is that I am compelled to feel as if nothing less than the world was to be my home. I think it is quite possible that there might be a place for me in Pittsburgh and if there is I think I would like to go to it.

If I could get a position on the Chronicle-Telegraph where I would have room to spread myself a little I think it would be very pleasant. Prof. Tucker thinks if he were me he would rather edit a religious (or rather it would be a general 'sober' column) department on a daily paper than to be on a religious weekly. Maybe when I go home (not to the world but to Pittsburgh) again I will have an opportunity to see some newspaper men on the matter. If I had such a position I could be of help to every sort of good work going on there and perhaps introduce some new schemes.

The advanced class does not have any lectures and recitations and yet it is not so free from care as the little green school house. The work is in courses of reading under the direction of the professors. I am trying to find out what has been done in the last five centuries to make men, especially poor men, better and happier. I look to Tucker for direction and the more I am with him the better I like him. He is a thoroughly business-like Christian. Not too much broadcloth, not too much piety. He takes such an active interest in all sorts of things that the fellows make a regular pope out of him. He has to give every kind of advice and it is generally followed, too. . . . I am acting as Bishop of Hebron. I see that the pulpit is supplied when they do not have

anyone from the neighborhood. I will probably spend Thanksgiving vacation up there if I can get up another sermon between this and then.

I wish you would remember me to the Comleys. I often think of the happy times I used to have there. How near they come to the secret of Christian living. As ever

ROB

HEBRON, N.H., *Dec.* 3, 1888

DEAR JIMMY:

Your welcome letter was forwarded to me last week at this place where I was spending the Thanksgiving recess.

I am very grateful for your suggestive 'business card.' I no longer belong to the pauper class, as I have supported myself since last July; but as I am a sort of honorary member of the ministerial profession, I suppose I am fully justified in calmly accepting every gift that comes along. When the check gets to you it will probably have the endorsement of Deacon Samuel Wells, Dealer in Everything, Hebron, N.H. — one of the best men in the world.

I am getting along fairly well in my line of business. . . . Occasionally some of my writing sees the light in the 'Christian Union,' a paper on which I hope to work sometime. An opportunity has been given me to write an article for the 'Andover Review' on the 'Compensation of Journalists,' not altogether a soul-inspiring subject but yet having a certain amount of interest. At any rate it will be a great help to me later to have some of my work appear in the 'Review' as it stands very high in the estimation of people. . . .

Dr. Tucker had gone to the Seminary to aid the next generation of men entering the ministry in meeting the moral questions of modern life, in adjusting the teaching of Christianity to a world confused by the issues of industrial problems. A previous generation 'saw the religious peril of materialism, but not the religious opportunity for the humanizing of material forces.' 'The fundamental idea [of the Church] was still that of charity, and the whole trend of events was showing the insufficiency of the idea for social reform and advance. The greatest social grievance came from those who, if in need of charity, did not want it —

the vast army of unskilled labor. Their grievance, as it became understood, changed the whole problem from that of charity to that of economic justice.'[1]

Not alone in the theological schools, but in the colleges as well, there was an entire lack of proper scientific material for educational purposes in 'social economics.' The students under Dr. Tucker were, therefore, among the first to open the way to new forms of knowledge in this department. Thus while Woods was studying about the social conditions of the Middle Ages, he was also sent afield to New York to learn something of 'The Attitude of Labor Organizations toward Socialism,' and there laid the foundations of his understanding of the trade-union movement through sixteen interviews with labor leaders. The results of these conversations were set forth in a clear objective style in the Seminary *Bulletin*.

The experience undoubtedly awakened his sense for the significance of contemporaneous events and led him to see that modern history dealt rather with movements than with individuals or episodes. The social movement, he saw, was 'emphasizing the importance of average men.'

The summer of 1889 provided one of those revelations of our social dependence which are at once humiliating to our self-sufficiency and humorous as well, at least in retrospect. In this vein, Mr. Woods used to tell of how he happened to go to the Concord Reformatory. He had planned to remain in Andover to soak himself in reading and to go on with some literary tasks. The prospect was altogether beguiling, but the first month was not yet past when the quiet became tedium and he was suffering from a severe attack of nostalgia. At this juncture there came to the Seminary a request for a student-assistant to the chaplain or 'moral instructor' of the Massachusetts Reformatory, which he was glad to accept. The account of his month's term of residence appeared in *The Andover Review* and was cited by a current weekly as 'an extremely interesting, instructive, inspiring paper.' His stay there meant

[1] Dr. Wm. J. Tucker: *My Generation.*

an opportunity to observe the influence of one highly effective personality upon a large group of men.

The Reformatory had then been in existence about five years, a period that had been allowed 'by some persons well acquainted with prison management for the visionary nature of its plan to become fully apparent.' Colonel Gardiner Tufts was the superintendent — 'not only the head of the institution but all through it, exercising constant intelligent direction of both prisoners and officers. . . . The most important feature of the work being done at Concord is its personal quality. At first the skilful and hopeful methods would naturally interest one most; but later on he will find his mind continually running back to the source of things, and he will begin to see that it signifies more than methods that such a man as Colonel Tufts should have come to be in charge of a prison with practically free power to act out his strong philanthropic impulses.' The Reformatory had thoroughly proved itself and was developing its methods successfully. The chaplain, the Reverend Mr. Batt, was constantly devising means 'to get the men interested in taking the right moral attitude toward the immediate situation in which they are placed.' With him Mr. Woods established that same kind of happy fellowship between an older and younger man as with Deacon Wells of Hebron.

A brief note in the diary says:

> Spent the month of August at the Concord Reformatory. The time was full of interest. Felt the pleasure of public speaking. Got familiar with the outer atmosphere of Concord.

On his last Sunday he preached a sermon to the men; speaking without notes he had this to say to them:

> Christianity has always been characterized by zeal for progress. . . . Christianity is always deeply interested in a man at the bottom of the ladder, and in some sense satisfied with him, if only his eyes be fixed on the top. . . . Perhaps the leading thing that has given form to his continual aspiration has been the thought of a kingdom of God on earth. . . . It ought to be a great

inspiration to us to feel that we can in our own lives be the means of hastening this glorious time. . . . The difference between going forward and not going forward is the difference between courage and cowardice. . . . The vision of Christ inspires us to do the work among the men of our time which he did among the men of his time. . . . When a man has learned that he is the son of God, he walks the earth with the proud consciousness that it is the kingdom of his Father and that all the brightness and sweetness and richness of it are his own princely inheritance.

A foreshadowing of his genius for reasoned-out, concrete suggestion for meeting an observed need came of his stay at the Reformatory. This idea, prophetic of settlement methods, was developed in an article entitled 'Coöperative Philanthropy' and appeared in *The Christian Union*:

A careful observer has made the apparently paradoxical remark that often among the poor theft is a first blind upward step. A little acquaintance with the men in the Concord Reformatory confirms this view. . . . They have almost no legitimate opportunity to improve their lot. . . . There are young persons in every community who, from lack of the ordinary opportunities, are in danger, if not of becoming criminals, at least of leading sordid and useless lives. On the other hand, there are benevolent people everywhere who would be glad to help them in some systematic way to a higher and worthier and more interesting existence. . . . About the only kind of charitable effort open to persons of limited means is the occasional handing over of money in the way of alms, or for some general cause. A philanthropist, as we use the term, is usually a rich man, who can because of his wealth, put in motion independent enterprises and give his benevolence a direction to suit his taste. There ought to be a way by which people who are not wealthy may become philanthropists, may have some close interest in and direction of practical plans for comforting and elevating men on any of the different sides of human life most attractive to themselves. An amateur musical organization in one of the cities is working out an idea which suggests a way of meeting this difficulty. . . . This plan savors as little as possible of anything like patronage. . . . There is plenty of generous feeling, but it is happily mixed up with a desire for the advancement of the organization and of the cause of music generally. . . . An association which includes in its

philanthropy a zeal for the advancement of some good art will be likely to dispense a much purer kind of charity than would one formed for the sheer purpose of general charitable effort. So delicate a grace as charity requires an organ which shall work unconsciously of its function. . . . If every organization which has any good end in view would begin to adopt a plan of making special provision for the encouragement and training of young persons of small opportunities in life, along the line in which the organization is working, there would soon be added a whole new element to educational forces. In every city there would be many, and in every town there would be some, popular scholarships in the various lines of art and skill.

Meantime, the English-speaking world was full of the discussion of Socialism. Dr. Gladden, as spokesman within the Congregationalist fold, was known to be saying, 'The Individualist cares only for men and neglects environment; he is a fool; for the environment, in a thousand ways, reacts upon the man and checks or distorts his development. The Socialist cares only for environment and neglects the man; he is a fool; for the springs of power are in the human personality . . .'

Andrew Carnegie's protective doctrine for the *status quo* in his 'Gospel of Wealth' was discussed in the Andover classroom as against the principle and methods of a new social order. Outside lecturers from the universities were brought to the Seminary to present the specialists' views of the ethical bearings of political economy, and of Christianity at work, which were duly reported by the correspondent of *The Christian Union*.

In the spring of 1890 a note of hopeful progress for the Seminary sounds in his letter:

> The number of students is larger than for several years; opportunities for practical training have been so enlarged as to constitute an important part of the seminary's work. . . . The valuable course in Social Economics is now to be a regular elective. . . . Professor Tucker has for some time been planning for an Andover House in Boston, similar to Oxford House in London, to be in charge of several resident graduates of the seminary, who would direct the undergraduate's work.

Dr. Tucker felt that

> The striking originality of the settlement idea lay in its perfect simplicity. It departed as far as possible from the institutional ideas and methods, and laid the emphasis altogether upon the use of personality. Its aim was the identification of a group of University men with the life of people in a poor neighborhood where they would take up their residence. First they were to know their neighbors and their conditions and then to initiate and encourage methods for mutual service in behalf of the neighborhood.[1]

Was the plan really practicable and would it work in American cities? He decided that the Seminary ought to make a thorough investigation of the Settlement Idea. To this end, he turned to 'Mr. Robert A. Woods, then a member of the advanced class and specializing in Social Economics.'

Other matters at the same time were weighing heavily with the young men of the Seminary. Those who overstepped the bounds of orthodoxy were being subjected, they felt, to a kind of persecution from the older generation in control of denominational appointments, particularly to the field of foreign missions. Woods, feeling keenly the injustice of the situation, assumed a championship against a policy which 'shuts out with indignity some of the best types of men that our modern Christianity produces. . . . The young men feel that the personal issue is fundamental. Other arguments seem to them without force compared with the fact that a man offering himself with rare preparation and high sentiments, to what might be one of the great statesmanlike movements of the world, is liable to be treated in a way, not simply painful to his personal feelings, but almost intolerable to his Christian self-respect.' In addition to the call upon his sympathies for the problem of his contemporaries, this violation of what he felt to be the spirit of religion operated in his own life to urge on the process of self-reliance in finding his place in the spiritual universe. This deep current of his existence got its definite

[1] Dr. Wm. J. Tucker: *My Generation.*

direction in the last months at Andover. The marks of progress toward a realizing sense of personal responsibility for living in the higher life 'with the same easy continuance that characterizes the lower life' give significance to his diary:

How the universal truth is constantly proving itself to one who submits himself to it.

There is a great deal of self-knowledge and improvement to be gained by seeing how we act at crises and by taking fast hold of a sudden higher impulse.

He records shortly the anecdote of William of Orange which was years after still a favorite illustration:

'Do you not see that your country is lost?' said the Duke of Buckingham to William of Orange, when he was sent to negotiate at The Hague. 'There is a sure way never to see it lost,' replied William, 'and that is to die in the last ditch.' His bravery indeed was of that nobler cast which rises to its height in moments of ruin and dismay.

He used the same theme in the last story that he was to write, which he completed in the spring of 1890, though it had been in his thoughts for three years.

He comes at last to fresh springs of resolution:

It is something that I gladly accept as always true that a suggestion to the mind is nothing unless it promises to work out something in the constructive art of life. I will ask always 'What is the animus of this suggestion?' If it does not promise to actively contribute to the artistic sacramental living of life, I will say 'You appeal to a department of thought which is not in my life and I cannot even consider your claim. There is nothing there for me, either for interest or apprehension.'

Truly, there is only one kind of continuity in life — that of the self-reliant soul getting more and more of God's spirit by coming more and more into His kingdom.

We *know* of certain things that God's life is running that way, and that we cannot live unless we be in that current. Why God is interested in these things we do not now know. We can never know by *consideration*. We can only know by *action*.

Goodness, truth and beauty are outer lines of godlikeness,

from which we are to calculate the central point. There are certain thoughts which have personality in them. They do not simply fall into our old system. They seem to carry with them the feeling and attitude in which they arose. They induce by some strange process, the condition of mind of the one who expressed them. A true work of art always has this effect. God's world is such a work of art. To get rightly interested in it is more and more to approach the divine point of view, is to become godlike.

It is impossible that facts should ever be found necessarily in conflict with God's hope of a man. From this time on I am going to try to know God's hope of me, and to push toward its full realization — leaving aside considerations of weakness or calculations of strength.

Self-consciousness is a disease; so also is too close attention to the appearance of one's environment.

God has revealed himself in the nature of the human life and in the organic unity of mankind. . . . From this time on through the present period of my life at least, I will omit speculations as to the sanctions of life. I take them all for granted. I know that they are all true. Beauty, truth, and conduct — I will begin to learn by experience. . . . The object of the individual life considered as such is to work out its possibilities. But each race unit has currents of its life out into its immediate environment, into all the race, and into all the universe. All a man's powers then are simply potentialities of relationship. To go out fully and deeply into one's highest powers is to come into the deepest and most joyful relation with humanity and with God.

God is striving to realize some great thought in the history of mankind. We can know that thought only by working together with God. There is a mighty purpose working out in the life of humanity and of every man. I commit myself absolutely to this fact and to the movement of this purpose. I will learn to test every suggestion by this motive. God must have infinite activity as well as infinite repose. I know the law of my being. I will follow it absolutely.

In the midst of these considerations appears the entry:

Professor Tucker has a plan for me to go to England to look up social questions and give some lectures to the seminary on my return. I am going to try to put it into effect. If the plan goes through it will mark the end of the first stage in my career.

CHAPTER IV

A VISIT TO ENGLAND: TOYNBEE HALL AND ENGLISH SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

As he set out for England, sailing from New York on the 14th of May, armed with some little brown notebooks and many penciled suggestions about places and people, Woods had the outlook of the professional chronicler; he was to seek facts for the use of others, his observations must be clear-cut, his own conclusions sparingly used.

When half the voyage was spent, he emerged from his bout with seasickness to make acquaintance with some of his fellow-travelers. Among them was a family party including a daughter who, 'though she was as lively and natural as the other girls, showed more intelligence'; she confided to him that she was a physician on her way to study further in Paris and Vienna. 'This was very interesting — to see a young woman with an idea and a purpose in life who was yet able to enter into sympathy with those without large interests.'

To the first Englishman whom he met in crossing he was 'the singularly sincere and unaffected young man.'

The way to London was pleasantly broken by the sightseeing route from Liverpool usually followed by American tourists, and by encounters with the family party of the steamer. From Chester he sent report of progress to Dr. Tucker.

I am now squarely on English soil and I was very glad to get on Terra Firma — though the terrors of the sea were not nearly so great as I anticipated.

I had the pleasure of meeting on shipboard Professor Wm. J. Ashley, author of the book on English Economic History. We had several long talks. He had heard from Mr. Joseph King, his intimate friend, about your course in Social Economics and was much interested in it. He wanted me to ask you to send him any printed matter you had about the course. . . .

He gave me letters to Mr. King and to Rev. S. A. Barnett. He showed much friendly interest and is going to introduce me somewhat at Oxford, to Dr. Chas. Gore of Lux Mundi among others.

To-morrow I am going to Hawarden. Gladstone is to address a large delegation on his lawn.

By the end of this week I hope to be in London. If I don't get into Toynbee Hall, there is a building near there where I can stay, I think.

He walked his seven miles to Hawarden to be duly impressed with a short speech by Gladstone. Thence he unfolded history and romance through Coventry, Kenilworth, Warwick, Stratford, Banbury, and Oxford. With this brief glimpse of English country in its early summer glamour, he sought out his objective in London, and, as if caught by a winter's wind, found himself swept into the strange current of East End humanity. He was fortunately able to go into residence at Toynbee Hall and lived for the greater part of his six months there in the Whitechapel district. In the midst of a region harboring a million people whose existence was largely taken up with a close struggle against poverty, where a hundred thousand rose each morning with little or no assurance as to their daily bread, who might catch the fragments of indiscriminate charity fostered by an over-literal Christian teaching of bygone days, the twenty Toynbee residents and their associates represented an overture on the part of men from the universities of service for the common welfare. Under the direction of the Reverend Samuel Barnett, their plan of work, built on his years of local parish experience, had soon given evidence of its possibilities in certain striking results. From John Ruskin through Edward Denison and Arnold Toynbee a new conscience and attitude toward the life of the great mass of people had found expression. It had its embodiment in the settlement idea that the best gifts of civilization must be applied to the social problems that produce poverty to wipe out the worst of its ills. These good things, to be really of use, said Mr. Barnett, 'must

come clothed in the lives of fellow-men.' This was the emphasis that sunk deep into Mr. Woods's mind as he went about observing the activities which constituted the English social movement of that day. The human picture of East London which met his eye had, in spite of its evidences of degradation, its fascination for him. The gloom of it he found lit by many picturesque features:

> The dockers, with their slouched caps and flannel neckcloths, the factory girls with their plumage hired by the week, the many curious types of people listening to the noisy fakirs or joining in the sports of the improvised fair.
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> In London the faces of the poor have the familiar Anglo-Saxon lineaments. One of the unsuspected reasons for the home feeling which all intelligent Americans experience in London is that there they are able to see themselves in tatters. It is this fact especially which causes the average American to return even from a carriage ride in the East End with some new care for the men and women who have to pass their lives in a great city's closely crowded quarters.

He established the same kind of relation with the men of his own age whom he found living at Toynbee Hall as at Amherst and Andover. There were long talks in the Quad on summer evenings with the roar of Whitechapel, subdued but suggestive, about them. He seemed more mature than contemporaries among English university men, and, 'though studying social conditions, he had, as well, a genuine philosophical interest. His strong and capacious mind was one to lean upon and after the passage of many years there was still the remembrance of his genuine kindliness and affection.'

Two letters to Dr. Tucker give something of his own story:

> Time seems to be moving on very rapidly. It has not been so full during the last few weeks, as London gets quite dull about the first of August.
>
> I had a long talk with W. T. Stead yesterday. One of the Salvation Army leaders (a very able fellow) was to take Stead

around to some of their places, and he said I ought to come along. Stead asked me to walk to his office with him after the meeting in the evening.

He is working with Gen. Booth now on schemes for social work. It seems as if S. A. enthusiasm was going to get turned strongly into channels of practical social work, and that wherever the Army goes. Stead opened up the whole scheme to me and it is a wonderfully interesting one. In a word, it is a plan to start a large industrial system which will make it practically impossible for men to be out of work. Booth is to issue a book in November which will fully explain the plan. Stead has worked with him on the book. They don't want it to leak out till the book gives it its full statement. Stead says Henry George endorses the scheme, and he thinks Burns will stand by them.

I am going to see Burns soon. He gave me his card at one of his meetings, and he said he would be very glad to see me. He is a splendid fellow. He is a total abstainer, and a man of high principle and of intelligence.

I have met Mr. Clarke. He was very kind indeed. He dined me at the Liberal Club. He was just going away, but is going to introduce me to some of the Socialists when he returns. He is a man of about 35, a Cambridge man.

I think I understand the University Settlement Movement now. It has assumed large proportions, and it seems to me contains permanent elements in it.

The movement in the Church, headed by Gore, is a very interesting one. It has its social side. Those men have charge of the Church Social Union, which is socialistic, I believe. They are going to start a Review soon which is to pay much attention to social questions. The High Church Party has all the momentum in it now. I expect to see Gore when I go to Oxford. One of the Toynbee men is going to take me to see Canon Holland. He is an ardent member of the new movement. He is a man greatly beloved by his friends. The Oxford House which belongs to the men in this movement is prospering through it. It is going to have a fine building soon. You know already about the Mansfield House scheme. It opens in September, so I shall see it. Even the Methodists are going to have one.

. . . I have seen a good deal of Mr. Barnett. He dines with us two or three times a week. . . .

While you have been thinking of me I have been thinking of you and have been working on an article about University Ex-

tension. It is a very interesting matter indeed. It is run on an admirable system and has grown remarkably. . . .

Prof. Marshall is a very interesting man. We had him here for a week while he was reviewing his final proofs. I did not have a chance to talk with him myself, but I heard him talking to others. I had a chance to see him at a very good advantage — in his workshop, so to speak — at a supper which was given in order that he might meet a number of men connected with different trades, to talk about the factory system. I was invited and contributed the account in *The Toynbee Record* which I send. I also send you *The Times* with Marshall's opening speech at the British Asso. (Economic Section) at Leeds. *The Times* editorial on Marshall is very good. His love for fairness and facts is very marked. He succeeded Fawcett at Cambridge, and the papers commenting on his book noticed what a wide departure he had made from Fawcett. He has been working on his book for ten years. He has published two little books which I suppose you know (one bears his wife's name also). But he keeps strictly to business. I think he refrains from review discussion and tries to keep well within the limits of pure scholarship. I think it makes his progress toward the new economy rather more remarkable that he is not mixed up with affairs at all. His having been so quiet has made his rise in popular notice rather sudden and quite marked. . . .

Dr. Whiton and I have seen a good deal of each other. He is working with the Christian Socialists in New York. He has introduced me to a number of interesting people, among them the editor of *The Christian World*, and Andrew Mearns, author of 'The Bitter Cry.' He is at the head of the Congregational City Mission and is going to put me in charge of one of his men to go through the 'Bitter Cry' district in South London. He says the South is worse than the East. . . .

Ufford is here at Toynbee now and seems to be enjoying himself. I am giving him as many points as I can. Wm. Clarke has invited us both to dine with him at the National Liberal Club. Clarke was here dining with me not long ago. I like him ever so much. I suppose you have the 'Fabian Essays,' and Sidney Webb's 'Socialism in England.' . . . Webb is interesting as being a Fabian and yet having standing as an economist. . . .

I find my time quite too short. I am only sorry I cannot take eight months for London and three or four for the rest of the island. But I shall have to be content with six months' stay

altogether. . . . The whole of English life seems to gravitate to London.

In the autumn he started out to see something of other parts of England and Scotland, at first accompanying William Clarke on one of the Fabian Society lecture tours in the North of England. In Glasgow he made pleasant acquaintances with supporters of a settlement and formed a connection as American correspondent of a weekly journal called *The Modern Church*. In Manchester he sought out Graham Wallas, who was lecturing there, to whom he had a letter of introduction. It happened that Mr. Wallas had been taken ill and was miserably uncomfortable in a poor hotel. He was always gratefully amused at the fact that Woods forgot about the factories which he was supposed to be visiting and devoted himself to the care of the patient. The recollection of this little episode was the occasion for one of Mr. Woods's amused and deprecatory smiles, for was he not the gainer? He had the man he wanted to see at his mercy in return for some modest service rendered, and what, in his sense of human values, was the worth of seeing a dozen factories in comparison with the sympathetic companionship which he found in Mr. Wallas?

At that time, it is Mr. Wallas's recollection, Woods appeared to be much stirred emotionally by the surge of events and opinions he was meeting.

He was a very quiet, sensitive, and deep feeling young man, with a fine sense of humor, what we call a 'dear.' His visit to England at that time plunged him between two pretty strong fires: the Toynbee group with Mr. and Mrs. Barnett and their surprising capacity to get things done, and those represented by the early Fabian Society. The latter were dissatisfied with the results secured by those who had set out to reform the world scientifically, and who had failed to change very much the old district of Stepney. The Fabians were 'minds sacrificing anything to get at the truth, by challenge, by work, and hard thinking.'

Mr. Woods often acknowledged his debt to the Fabians; in letters of his later years he recalls to a contemporary some of the history which they had made:

> Possibilism and permeation — these were the watchwords and almost the by-words of the remarkable educational campaign of the Fabian Society in London in the nineties by which the first and greatest of the (social) surveys (Life and Labor of the People) was made a reality — its lessons read, learned, and outwardly applied by all sorts of citizens, including workingmen in their trade unions and clubs. The original program of the London County Council was largely affected by it. This really opened the new era of social administration and legislation, and had a profound influence in bringing the movement of deliberate social reconstruction. I can hardly think of anything that would be more illuminating to the intelligent social worker . . . than a brochure upon this creative epoch in relation to the development of social work.

On the other hand, while greatly stimulated by the brief association with certain of its members, among whom should be mentioned Vaughan Nash as well as William Clarke and Graham Wallas, he was by no means swept away from his own convictions. 'I was, so to speak, brought up in the school of the Fabians, and wonderful as their work has been, it has decided limitations from the humanistic and spiritual points of view.'

The vigorous intellectual influence of the visit to England cannot well be underestimated. It gave him also a quickening realization of spiritual kinship with the antecedents of social reform culminating in the teaching of Ruskin of whom he was unswervingly a disciple. Among his first contributions to an understanding of social problems was a series of lectures given at Andover and elsewhere, on the English Social Reformers, in which this paragraph is found:

> In Kingsley and Ruskin we have two men who are distinctly Social Reformers, not contented with philanthropy, not giving themselves to the needs of a particular group of the needy, but entering into their work with a full consciousness that every

social evil stood for some evil thing in the constitution of society, and under the impulse of justice and righteousness demanding that the contrivances of society should overturn and overturn till justice and righteousness should prevail. . . . Ruskin was able to survey the needs of the men of his time, to estimate the varied resources which English life affords to meet those needs, and to show to men with inescapable authority and charm, how they might with twofold enthusiasm like that of Fra Angelica — priest and artist — fashion their own lives, arrange into forms of harmony and beauty, each part in its fair proportion and relation, such human life as they found around them.

And in the 'Settlement Horizon' to him Ruskin was still preëminent:

Gradually he wrought out his great thesis that the supreme function of the state is to produce 'souls of good quality,' and the supreme duty of its citizens to direct all their powers both as producers and consumers to this end.

Mr. Woods returned to Andover as the 'Alumni Lecturer' for 1891. At intervals he renewed his connection with the little 'parish' in New Hampshire and did some writing for *The Christian Union* and *The Modern Church.* One of the articles for the Scotch paper, entitled 'American Social Movements,' recounts several phases of organized effort against political corruption and sees 'many encouraging signs that thoughtful people are getting thoroughly awake to the importance of the social question. One can notice a steady increase in the amount of discussion in regard to it. We have now two societies whose object is to educate their members as to the needs and hopes of the working classes.'

Meantime the plans for the Andover House were moving forward. Six months before its opening he had written to one of the Toynbee men:

Two of us are thinking seriously of starting a monthly paper in the interest of Social Christianity. The money question is all that troubles us. We may get over that difficulty in six months or a year.

We are going to start an Andover House in Boston in the fall. It will be mainly social in its work, but we hope after awhile to have a platform where we can talk our heresies a little.

I must admit that East London was a sort of cold bath to my religious feeling. But it was like all cold baths, very bracing in its effects when the reaction came. I find that we human beings are not nearly so far on as I thought we were. Even in this country town where the natural surroundings are almost idyllic, there are many things in the life of the people that are wrong and depressing. I see more clearly than I ever did, that human life must go strongly in one of two directions, either toward what is devilish or toward what is divine. If we do not have enthusiasm, faith, we are lost. Then when one has rescued oneself from the teeth of despair, and coming again into his faith finds that though he may not be far along, yet the world lies all full of opportunities and possibilities; that every genuine longing is a promise — one is ready to go back into the world again, feeling a new glow and inspiration.

Just now I am turned lay exhorter again for a couple of months. A friend of mine is going to take the little church here in the fall — and I am holding the ground for him. I can't quite stay out of the ministry, and I can't quite go into it. I didn't tell you about the lectures. They were very well received. Tucker was well pleased, which was the main thing. He says the lectures have got to be published. They are now in the hands of Scribner's, and I am experiencing the trembling anxieties of a suitor.

Letters to his English correspondent contain the gist of his heretical theology:

As to the theological questions, I seem to care less and less about them. The material of religion lies so much deeper down. I have sympathy still with what is called Evangelical Christianity. I believe most of the miracles occurred. I believe there is a real kernel of fact in the story of the resurrection.

But I believe we need to stir up fresh springs of inspiration. I believe we must take every possible approach men have to the better life and induce them to take the next step. Take every possible means to show them the interest and attractiveness of righteousness.

If I had the training of a boy, I would take everything in nature, art, history, fiction, that was capable of fascinating his

imagination; and then I would make it my study to express to him — so that he should feel it — that the charm of these things is weak compared with the charm of the things that go to make up the expanding life of the spirit.

I am sorry that this spectre of uncertainty still haunts you. I should like to know just how radical you are, in order to know just how difficult it is for you to reconcile your position with the statements of the church. It is very difficult for me to satisfy myself completely with the attitude of the Broad Church (the existing party in England I mean). Still I think if I were in the Church I should stay in. In my theological view I am if anything a little less radical than I was when we used to talk together. . . . I hardly think I could say the Apostles' Creed if I denied the virgin birth, though I know some wise and conscientious men are perfectly honest in doing so. I am rather glad they can do so.

In the freedom of the Puritan churches, the case is different. I am doing everything I can to get fellows who deny miracles to stay in the Congregational ministry. . . . The Congregational churches must be made broad enough to admit all Christians. They have no other reason for existence than that.

I should be very sorry to think of your leaving the Church. Don't do it unless you find your situation unbearable. Don't be too much afraid of compromise. Every thought a man ever thinks is full of hypothesis. Every action results from a lot of postulates. Every hypothesis and every postulate is a compromise.

The old stationary regulations of conscience do not fully serve us in this time of flux. They would land us on one bank or the other, whereas the whole impulse of the times demands that we should be in the current. . . .

The Seminary lectures were published under the title 'English Social Movements' and gave to American readers the first full account of the practical trend of English thought of the day toward human upbuilding, refraining from any theoretical discussion of political and economic policies. He concluded, however, with his impression of the power and capacity of the English people:

The various social movements have beyond question drawn out and strengthened the higher intellectual and moral forces of

English society. In a general political point of view, they have been a strong purifying influence. . . . The most impressive thing in Europe to-day is the slow, steady, irresistible advance of the British democracy. England is well prepared for the working out of the national society of the future. . . . The strength and vitality that has been the means of conquering so much of the world is gradually proving itself able to throw off internal evil. There is coming to be a general social sense which forbids that men should be hindered from attaining the fair enjoyment of those better qualities that are the essential distinction of human existence. . . .

In any case, whatever other characteristics this coming democracy may have, it is certain to be a social democracy. It will not disappoint its people by removing one kind of aristocracy merely that a worse may arise. . . . In the approach toward such a national life — toward a republic of industry, of letters, of art, of pure religion and undefiled — England, of all the countries of the world, holds for the next following generations the manifest destiny.

As to his social 'heresies,' he took advantage of the introduction to the book to attack a familiar, self-complacent current of American thought:

I may, however, express my increasing conviction of the substantial emptiness of the kind of criticism made upon the constitution of English society which is intended to be an indirect felicitation of ourselves over our own social conditions. The American aristocracy is more powerful and more dangerous than the English. Our class system is not less cruel for having its boundaries less clearly marked. And it can no longer be taken for granted that workingmen are better off in the United States than in England. The coal miners of the North of England have strong trade unions, work eight hours or less a day, support their coöperative stores, and in some places are organizing University Extension centers. The coal miners of western Pennsylvania, already low enough, are being forced lower by the competition of the latest Continental immigrants, with their unspeakably degraded standard of life. As to the crowded populations of cities, we are beginning to see that the problem of lower New York is in some respects even more serious than the problem of East London.

We do not, therefore, any longer need to go over the sea to learn about evil conditions. But for the sake of a knowledge of what means may best be used toward remedying such conditions, as well as of an apprehension of the noble feeling by which men are impelled to take up their social and political duties, it will be of great importance that we watch closely the remarkable progress England is making in these ways.

CHAPTER V

THE STARTING OF A SETTLEMENT

'Personal identification with the lives of those who need help is the characteristic of the movement,' wrote Dr. Tucker in setting forth the plans for making the Andover House a reality. He stipulated also that, though the motive was religious, the method to be pursued would be 'educational rather than evangelistic.' He named Robert A. Woods as the man prepared to take charge of the new undertaking in its inception.

In these broad terms the head resident received his commission from the founder of Boston's first settlement. There was to be resident study and work, both of which would have to do with the lives of the people among whom the prospective modern young ministers were to live while at the Andover House. The nature of their work and their ways of study went unspecified. Mr. Woods would bring, indeed, some knowledge of the organized activities of London settlements; he was familiar with the theory of scientific charity as advancing a method for the relief of individual cases of need; there was already in New York and Chicago something to be learned of the initial experience of others in somewhat similar adaptations of the English 'settlement idea.' But for the building-up of a method that should be realizable as educational for the process of getting rid of poverty, there was no clear precedent. Lessons could be drawn from London for the larger aspects of social problems; residence at Toynbee Hall pointed clearly to the fact that 'the first and most obvious duty of such a body of men [from the universities] is that of magnifying the office of citizenship' for which tradition and practice existed in England, but was vaguely and half-heartedly conceived of in the United States. At every point the practical way in which to direct successfully the work of

others had to be opened, and the whole plan made coherent and serviceable. A great preacher at about this time had said to his congregation, 'A hundred men who made up their minds to it could save the city from the corruption and distress into which she is fast falling'; but when a man went to him and said, 'I have the men, where shall we begin?' there was neither experience nor knowledge with which to direct them.

It was clear enough that this new type of education was needed by no one class of people, but was a requirement for the direction of the social consciousness of every condition of society. It was not, as a leading citizen had conceived it in a previous decade, so simple as saying to the poor, 'Here, we'll help you to rise up from poverty — cease to misuse your freedom, become sober, industrious and skillful by the exercise of your wills and the poverty and vice of our city will disappear.' The plan which Dr. Tucker and Mr. Woods undertook to follow was to let themselves be taught, however it might come, what society needed to learn for bringing the poorest of its members up to the level of a reasonable existence, and for giving strength and energy to life among all the less favored. Upon such knowledge they were to lay foundations for social education both as to aim and technique.

The unit of time in which results could be demonstrated was an unknown quantity, nor was the importance of continuity in the service of an individual understood. The custom of ministerial change of base was a dominant assumption. There would be in the nature of things a succession of Seminary graduates as directors of the new undertaking; they would pass on to other responsibilities with a broader wisdom; what the effect on the work would be, from frequent changes in its direction, was not, for a time, a lively consideration.

So it came about that a young man, twenty-six years of age, with an aptitude for philosophical thought, some literary gift, and an intense interest in the human aspect of the universe, already tested as, at least, a discriminating

observer, got set down in a drab quarter of a strange city. Here, in the midst of people suffering from dire poverty and misery, either in their own lives or vicariously neighboring it, he began applying, along with his analytical capacity and habit of contemplation, a certain practical part of his mind, not yet a very conscious possession.

At the New Year of 1892, Robert Woods with three other young men took up his residence at 6 Rollins Street in the South End of Boston, not realizing that the step was the way of entrance to a distinctive career for which already he had some of the necessary professional preparation.

The location for the Andover House had been chosen after careful consideration. It was 'in the center of a great population, the most considerable working-class district of Boston, within easy reach of the poorest locality in the heart of the city and the people who are in moderate but restricted circumstances.'

A characteristic feature of Boston streets is the transformation of an otherwise continuous thoroughfare into two highly individualistic sections; thus, magically, Winter Street becomes Summer Street, each with its own idiosyncrasies. But still more marked is the transition of Berkeley Street of the Back Bay, as in crossing Tremont Street it suffers a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde change of character and passes into Dover Street of the purlieus of the South End. For somewhat less than a mile from its origin at Tremont Street until it loses itself on the bridge across the South Bay, an inlet of the harbor, in an effort to arrive at South Boston, Dover Street, of the time of which we write and for three decades later, should be portrayed by a series of red dots, each the symbol of a saloon.

Cross the line of red dots denoting Dover Street with another for the drinking-places on Washington Street, and two more at wider intervals paralleling it for those on the two next thoroughfares toward the Bay, Harrison Avenue and Albany Street; cross these again with dotted symbols in double or treble series to the north and south, and you

make the frame for the picture of human need into which the Andover House was introduced.

The corner of Dover and Washington Streets has been for years a Mecca of drifting fragmentary humanity. Here is a four-corners of the world for men seeking jobs and cheap amusement not unmixed with degradation. It is a strategic point in transportation for the people of the residential areas which widen out to the south and east from the commercial and industrial quarters of the city lying northeast or, at some remove, in Cambridgeport to the west. Some manufacturing has always been found in the immediate vicinity on the streets in proximity to the water-front, where lumber cargoes are a conspicuous item of arrival. Before the days of the movies, the 'Opera House' and other cheap attractions landmarked the 'crossroads' as the outer zone of the theater district. The shops along the way catered to the needs of mechanics in tools and clothing and, however one went, a pawnbroker's triple symbol could be found. In this earlier time the great dingy structure of the Elevated railway station had not added darkness to the unsavory atmosphere grateful to the habitué, but fearful to the timid traveler awaiting on the curb the uncertain arrival of a rescuing street car. Anxiety was partly relieved by a substantial drugstore, which at night, with the illuminated red and green insignia of the apothecary, managed to outshine the unsteady flare of neighboring barroom gas jets, and these in turn threw into dismal shadow the dim interiors of less appetizing eating-places.

Rollins Street was a quiet byway not far from this troublous center. Its swell-front red-brick houses were of a mid-nineteenth century respectability. They had been deserted by their first owners in the opening years of the closing quarter-century. Even in its late palmy days the little girl of orthodox gentility living there knew play to be interdicted with the lonely child on the doorstep of a dubious house opposite, while on her own side of the street she defended the rights of social superiority against an oc-

casional visitation from a gang of little ruffians whose habitat was somewhere round the farther corner.

Being the third house from the corner of Harrison Avenue, No. 6 Rollins Street was identified rather with the tenements of the locality than with the shopping region of Washington Street, its farther approach. But as a street it was by way of renting furnished rooms to clerks and other folk of the business mart rather than of making homes for families. Thus, in a sense, the new household of young men was not out of place in its immediate setting. Hither and hence the long stride of adventuring young manhood took these new denizens of the city in and out of the neighboring streets till their appearance gradually became an everyday feature of the surrounding city-village life. Across Washington and Dover Streets they were bound to go to make their connections with the rest of life in Boston.

It was into a world of complicated activity that Robert Woods turned as he swung the corner of Rollins Street with its misleading appearance of quietude. The harvest of long hours for reading and meditation had been garnered once for all.

Suggestions of the character of a working day for the new 'Head of the House' are carried in letters written by him to Dr. Tucker before the first month had elapsed:

I have seen Mr. Sears and arranged a meeting at his office at 2.30 Monday. I made it earlier because the committee on tenement houses, of which I told you, is to meet at three-thirty and I want to go to it. . . . I should be glad if you could come along beforehand, as there are some things to be talked about which are hardly in shape yet to go before a committee: the housekeeping matter, and the matter of a young men's club for which we have found a good opening, but which would need money to get it started. We have got into very good relations with a man who runs a boys' club on Shawmut Avenue and he is much interested in trying to do something for the young men.

Everything is going very well excepting the domestic economy, and that is in very good shape considering the obstacles.

The dignity of a letter-head, 'The Andover House, 6

Rollins Street, Boston,' being added to their correspondence, Mr. Woods continues to write of mundane things to Dr. Tucker with some insistence on the importance of them:

We are gradually getting to be a reality, you see. But it is with more or less groaning and travailing. The girl has given us notice that the work is too hard and that she is going to leave. And this is not because the housekeeper has not been doing her full share. The housekeeper thinks it will be difficult to keep a girl long under the present arrangement. Besides the size of the house, there are two things which will always be special difficulties; the distance of the dining-room from the kitchen, and the large amount of answering the doorbell, with a pair of stairs to climb each time. As long as the housekeeper and servant are so busily occupied with the regular things, it will be impossible to draw on them for special occasions.

Of course it looks from the outside rather absurd to think of having three women to take care of four men. But the fact is that the work of taking care of the house already represents a good deal more than that. It seems as if when we get six or seven men in the house, we should have to have the housekeeper and two capable girls. It seems rather sudden to be making larger proposals, but the thing seems so clear to me, considering that the work of the house is going to increase, that I think we might as well save the trouble and loss of experimenting.

We are going to have a man in to-morrow for a talk about action in the matter of boys' clubs. . . .

Additions to the household service corps do not always reduce a difficulty; there are two instead of one to go and to be replaced, and so in this case it proved.

Domestic matters are still uppermost and will not down. The two girls are leaving to-day, partly at their own choice and partly by request. . . . While I was away on Monday the ladies' committee came and I fear they were not talked to just as they should have been. . . . I am quite sure, however, that Miss L—— or any housekeeper, would never stand being dictated to from outside the House.

Chandler saw Col. Hopkins the other day and among other things Col. Hopkins told him about the piano. He says it is a

$500 piano, but he will sell it for $250 (almost new) on easy payments. Don't you think we had better take it so as to have it for the house-warming?

I feel more and more that there are a good many essential matters which cannot be decided rightly by the men in the House, and which they will not be content to let me decide, and which cannot very well be brought before the council — that you will have to pass upon in your occasional visits.

We had two boys in the House last night, John Bull and James McCarthy, who have promised to come and see us soon again.

. . . We had a long conference last night for the scheme in general, the functions of the Head of the House, etc. The meeting acted as a safety valve. . . . It is a case where extremes meet. . . . I simply maintained the position I suggested to you — that daily prayers seem to me essential to the idea of moral and spiritual unity and that it was not a thing I could submit to a ballot. . . . I have promised to refer the whole matter to you. While it comes in the form of a protest to my action, yet I myself suggested this method, and have not assumed any sort of decisive authority. I have merely acted as representing the idea and as thinking of our relation to the members of the Association and to the future residents. Of course the situation is a very uncomfortable one for me. . . . Still the idea is the thing and that must not be compromised. If you think I had better go on as at present, I am prepared to do so. I don't take the attitude of piety, but it stands to me as a critical test of whether the group has any possibilities in it of moral unity. If it has not, a great deal of fine feeling involved in the plan must be lost. I had fondly hoped that we might be able to get a little out of the atmosphere of the commonplace. . . . On all matters which did not concern my personal responsibility I have given the men all the scope they could wish. I have tried to have each man manage his own work from the beginning. . . .

The ladies who are to help us on Wednesday are going to take a light supper with us between times. I hope you and Mrs. Tucker can make arrangements to do the same.

We had a crowd of boys in to-night. Mrs. Fields has written offering Chas. Booth's book. . . .

I had a long talk with Mrs. Fields last night at her request. She sent in the Ward 17 map, which is going to be a great help, and gave me Charles Booth books for the library as I was coming away.

She wants to take up the question of the unemployed, of whom she says there are 4000 in Boston. She is working out a scheme in which she wants us to take part. She is also planning for a public conference of the Associated Charities at Huntington Hall on the Scandinavian Liquor System. She and I got quite enthusiastic over this.

She asked me who should speak and I suggested you and Edward Bellamy! . . . I think this would be a splendid chance for people of different sets to join in the support of a fine scheme. I suggested John D. Long for chairman. She would like to have a committee appointed after the meeting to push the scheme.

Col. Hopkins has been out of town for ten days, so that we are on the verge of bankruptcy here. But he is to be back to-morrow.

The story of the first House reception at which he was to exercise his characteristic social gifts as companionable host is given in two further letters to Dr. Tucker:

Mrs. Hill and I went around yesterday. On counting up we decided that there would be about two hundred people present. . . . We ordered eight gallons of chocolate at $1 a gallon. The cups and spoons will cost about $3, cakes $4, tea, merely the cost of the pound. . . . If you think this runs the expense too high, we could possibly reduce the amount of the chocolate, but I think this would be risky.

The circulars seem to be all right, except that Mrs. Allen is Mrs. Frank instead of Mrs. Frederick, and the 'Mr.' is omitted from the names of two of the main contributors.

For all those who have since managed the refreshments of the innumerable parties and receptions at the Settlement in all the succeeding years, this picture of Mr. Woods as chairman of the first refreshment committee must be a source of delight as we think of the ease with which such responsibility later slipped from his hands, as if he had never raised a finger for such material tasks. When we think, too, of the screwing-up of courage that we each have experienced when the desire, nay, burning necessity, for a new piano had to be brought to his attention, we can but admire the directness of his own charge upon the citadel of authority in like case. Likewise, as residents and fellow-

workers, we recall as one of the distinctions of any social gathering for which he felt a responsibility that he would give the whole occasion a lift out of mediocrity. He could be counted upon by his associates in action to carry the momentum, for which they had paved the way, to the mark of achievement. Nothing grieved him more than a poorly managed party, and he would often refer in pitying vein to the lack of artistic sense in entertaining so often encountered in the homes of people otherwise intelligent. Here is the baptismal rite described for Dr. Tucker:

Feb. 18/92

It was a great disappointment to me that you should have been tied to your bed yesterday of all days. It was too bad. You would have enjoyed it so much.

Everything went well, and for myself I thought it was a really delightful event. Every one seemed to take it for granted that each other one had the same serious interest. Even passing words seemed to have a spirit in them.

We had over 200 people altogether, and such people! I was never in so fine a crowd before. Some of the standbys did not appear. Moxom was in your fix. Dickinson was not present. But there were a number of new supporters. . . .

The Andover House is now a regular settled Boston establishment. All we have to do is to push ahead.

At the end of six months he thus characterized the settlement overture:

Every one who comes to the House, comes in as every one else does. Every one is a guest.

One early resident has said, 'The one thing that rendered possible hearty coöperation between two such diametrically opposed temperaments as his and mine was Woods's abounding and delicious sense of humor.' Others recall the abundant laughter that was always ready to respond to the unexpected turns of circumstance which were bound to attend upon so new an undertaking. A never-forgotten episode of the first reception to members of the Association

and their friends was due to the hasty concealment of a variety of personal belongings which one of the young men had stowed in a closet. The housewifely concern and pride of some of the ladies' furnishing committee led to the opening of the closet door with the dénouement of a mêlée of falling merchandise coming down upon them. It was, perhaps, a slightly vengeful masculine enjoyment that made so simple an event a source of merriment even in its reminiscence.

The current of interest which the new venture created in the community of Boston brought responses from those who felt an answering sympathy for its plan of service. Thus, one of the most significant aspects of present-day settlement activities carried on by large groups of voluntary associates had its inception in such unexpected offers as that of a young married woman with doorstep memories of her childhood lived on Rollins Street, who had read about the Andover House. She thought that the knowledge of the district from her school-day experiences might be worth something, and she set forth on what seemed then, and proved to be in reality, a voyage of discovery, retracing the once familiar streets now forsaken by all her former friends, to claim a birthright share in the enterprise. An embarrassment of explanation at the front door when a young man responded to her ring had almost defeated her purpose when she bethought herself that it was a talk by a Mr. Woods which, reported in the newspaper, had stirred her to action. 'Are you Mr. Woods?' she asked, and, finding that he was not, she pressed for an interview with the Head, for which she waited in the familiar, dignified parlor of the successful merchant of another day, shorn of its feminine and family tokens, but still able to rely on a certain stately quality more evident for the scantiness of its present upholstery. Steps on the long staircase and a quick stride or two across the hall and into the room, brought a tall young man into her presence; misgivings as to the propriety of her errand and the value of her purpose magically disappeared. A light of understanding seemed

to be shining about her. To her husband that evening she said, 'You will love that man.'

'When they came, those young men, and lived right there among us,' a neighbor of all the years explained, 'we thought they were honest. We didn't think they would come and live like that unless they were honest, and so we thought we could trust them. Then, when Mr. Woods kept staying on and we got used to having him going through the streets and seeing him so often, we got to think that he belonged to us.'

CHAPTER VI

CHARITIED BOSTON

It was agreed between Dr. Tucker and Mr. Woods that results were not to be looked for too soon or too eagerly; they must be content to allow the new element introduced by the settlement into the neighborhood a slow growth 'after the manner of nature.' Other features of the work of the Andover House could be developed more quickly. Its supporting constituency was at first drawn largely from the ministry of the Congregational Churches and their responsible laity. It was intended to render some special service in assisting them to gain a better knowledge of the communities which their churches served; that is, Mr. Woods and his associates expected to work out definite methods of 'surveying' the social conditions of a given locality so to indicate ways of service for the congregation under the minister's charge. A step in this direction was made in the first winter with the preliminary plan of giving at the House a series of talks out of the practical experience of those who could speak with authority and of thus laying out 'a general plan of social work' and furnishing suggestions for the future activity of the Association. The topics treated included 'The Housing of the People,' 'Sanitary Improvement,' 'Working-Girls' Clubs,' and 'The Child Problem.'

A third function to be nourished into life was 'the general work of the Association as an agency for increasing interest and intelligence as to social problems.' Here began for Mr. Woods that perennial series of informal addresses given at churches, to ministers' associations, and, as time went on, to innumerable other groups always enough to fill any margin of free time.

His book on 'English Social Movements,' moreover, gave him a wider introduction than the slow measures of a

little social experiment could have been expected to supply. It opened intercourse with his ranking senior in the making of settlement history; Miss Addams wrote from Hull House 'to ask if it would be possible for you to come to Chicago to deliver an address on trade unionism or the Settlement movement or both. . . . All the residents have read your book with much interest. . . . It is a consolation that there is a man within reach who is able to write your chapter on the "Labor Movement."'

From English friends came also a recognition of its informative value for American readers, while it opened the eyes of Scotch acquaintances to the existence of a more radical and vigorous movement in labor and socialist ranks than they had been aware of. As a stranger in Boston, authorship served to give Mr. Woods a status outside of the Andover circle which was to prove of great practical importance.

Though Dr. Tucker, with his vital personal command in intellectual matters and recognized authority in liberality of religious outlook, was a strong sponsor both for the new enterprise and for its head resident, it devolved altogether upon Mr. Woods to take the practical initiative for getting the settlement wrought into the general current of active interests in the city, and, as it proved shortly, this process was the main source of its strength for continued existence.

A young man prepared to devote his days to the effective discharge of the implied obligations of society was sufficiently unusual to create something of a sensation among serious-minded people even though no sacrosanct claim was made. Mrs. James T. Fields, as an elder pioneer in redemptive social efforts, was the first of Boston's leaders to see to the full the opportunity before him. With her experienced knowledge of people and her appreciation for the finer qualities of mind and spirit, she gave him first her confidence and then, the rarer thing, her personal friendship. From others in Boston's traditional strongholds his nascent leadership received response. It was mainly the

way he used it that counted. There is never much difficulty if one has time to give in finding a place on committees; the main question is what will a person make of the chance. It was at this point that Mr. Woods got an advantage beyond price out of his new local habitation. He was, in his own mind, first of all a spokesman for the South End neighborhood as he began to work with his predecessors in the field of social work. Whether or not the neighbors would recognize his championship, his identification with their interests was his one clear call to service, and this sense he never lost.

A gulf of social prejudice lay between the prosperous professional and business classes and the industrial ranks, bridged by charitable assistance. The South End, as the most considerable district in point of population, was then, according to Reverend Edward Everett Hale, long a minister there, the most charitied part of Boston. A working knowledge of the ways of poor relief was thus an obvious first step for a newcomer who required to be sympathetic both as to its need and the intention of its bestowers. The first lessons came from the district conferences of the Associated Charities, of which there were two for that section of the city, each administered by a local agent and a volunteer committee of visitors and advisers. At weekly meetings the cases of families in need were discussed and some plan of help or friendly guidance or, perhaps, of discipline, was decided upon. To Mr. Woods these meetings were a particular trial. He was disturbed by a certain heartlessness of manner that seemed to him often to prevail. His annoyance occasionally expressed itself in poking a little fun at the mode of thought which they engendered. He got a particular enjoyment out of the bewilderment of the person in charge of one office as to the case of a Jewish peddler of neckties whose claims for aid were considered questionable. The main business of the man was along the waterfront, where he served the needs of the fishermen in personal adornment. Alas! No longer could they indulge themselves — for why? It was a hard winter, people had

much influenza; the Pope had withdrawn the accustomed food restrictions of the Church on account of people's health; therefore they did not buy the fish for Fridays and other fast days. So there is no money for the fishermen to buy neckties of the poor peddler; must he ask his children to starve? Could there be clearer evidence of cause and effect and of just claims for help!

As the acquaintance of the settlement grew in the neighborhood, the residents began to feel that they might offer a somewhat different interpretation of what life was like as lived by 'the more hopeful and enterprising elements of the poorer people, and not merely as found among the spiritless and degraded.' He fully appreciated, however, that this agency was 'indeed the substratum of all social effort in Boston'; the reason lay in the social tragedy to which as a student he was addressing himself. By degrees he got the story of the situation in Boston pieced together and was able to pass on to others some of its revelations.

Such a history of poverty takes one back a hundred years and is woven closely with the bright thread of New England enterprise and success, and the call for workers — seamen for ships, then operatives for her mills. From the beginning the kindly purse for the poor comes down with an ever-increasing care as successive financial crises leave an enlarged quota of distress. 'The poor . . . to a great extent living as a caste cut off from those in more favored circumstances,' caused the great mid-century preacher to see the large city as two nations. Reverend William Ellery Channing led the sentiment of his day by which later developments have since been guided: 'The obligation of a city to care for and watch over the moral safety and elevation of its poor and more exposed classes.' His test of a happy community was, 'One in which the mind is so reverenced in every condition that the opportunities of culture are afforded to all.'

But the affliction continued to become more and more burdensome. Following a financial panic in 1873, when the tramp problem was first seriously felt, over fifty new

charitable agencies arose in Boston within ten years. An appraisal of conditions by a public commission led to the adoption of the new methods of organized charity under the name of Associated Charities. 'The plan was dubiously regarded by many, even bitterly opposed.' 'Boston society was agitated over the idea'; 'we had to fight our way to the favor of existing charitable organizations,' said the first president who had studied the London Charity Organization.

A picture antedating the opening of the Andover House by a decade was drawn by Mrs. Fields:

> We have seen a degraded population increase year by year in our American cities. We have seen drunkenness decrease among our well-to-do people, and fall into a contempt unknown in the past century; but among the unprotected classes it has greatly increased, together with illiteracy and other evils, and yet we have continued to give broken bread and charity sewing to our poor. . . . In short we have received the children of pauperized Europe into our open arms, and have wondered at first, then felt ourselves repelled, by the sad issue of our careless hospitality.
>
> There are hundreds of tenement houses in every poor ward of Boston where the evils of pauperized Europe seem to be fostered by transplanting.
>
> Nearly one million dollars in public and private charities have been given away in one year in Boston alone. . . . The truth has been made clear to us that expenditure of money and goods alone does not alleviate poverty.

The preacher and moral leader of this later day also bears testimony:

> . . . The enemy is in the soil before you; intemperance and ignorance and unthriftiness and infidelity and irreligion and selfishness have possession of the field here in Boston now.[1]

Lest the picture seem too black, let us append the following:

> In certain branches of business Boston has now and has always held a position of preëminence among the cities of the country.

[1] Phillips Brooks. Decoration Day Address, Wells Memorial Institute.

By far the most important of these is the boot and shoe trade. Much more than one half of all the boots and shoes made in the United States are the product of Massachusetts. The factories are owned in Boston for the most part and the manufactured articles are sold here. Boston is also the largest wool market in the United States and it is the headquarters of the fish business. . . . Boston is second only to New York in the ownership of Western and Southern railroad stocks and securities. . . . Commerce conducted in foreign steamers is large and growing. Merchants have a reputation for integrity and faithfulness to high principle.[1]

The picture of poverty did not gain in brightness with the passage of years into the next and last decade of the nineteenth century. There were 448,477 people living in the city in 1890; 19.46 to the acre; to each dwelling 8.52 was the average. Out of every thousand, 349 were foreign-born, coming chiefly from Ireland. 'The persistently high death rate has been due mainly to diseases of the lungs, consumption and pneumonia, due to a considerable extent to race, character, and density of population.' An observant and informed traveler, none other than the Reverend Samuel Barnett, of Toynbee Hall, wrote significantly:

Boston has so great a reputation that the traveler is astonished to hear that one in twenty, or perhaps even one in fifteen of its population are in receipt of relief. . . . The organization for relief has all the appearance of perfection. . . . 'Do the clergy and philanthropic persons make use of your records,' we asked and the answer was 'No!' Private charity is, indeed, in Boston as in other places wayward and willful; . . . The consequence is that in Boston the poor live as they live in cities less advanced in knowledge; they occupy unhealthy houses, such as would at once be condemned in London on account of want of air and bad sanitary arrangements. The 'model' dwellings are dark and close, the streets are dirty and uncleaned, and the rents are high. It is easy to find neglected families, and standing in one uneven room, which was darkened by a house a few feet distant, and hearing the tale of poverty from the overburdened mother, I thought myself in the Whitechapel of twenty years ago. . . . I was always conscious that the people were looking for better

[1] Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston.*

times. . . . They always rose to talk of what their children would be. . . .

The need of the poor in America seems to be local government, better conditions for health and education. . . . If they [Americans] will direct their great kindness of heart toward the education of the immigrants and their passionate patriotism toward the ordering of their cities, they may succeed as no other people has succeeded in solving the poverty problem.

Shortly, Mr. Woods himself could draw as dark a picture:

Many people by their surroundings are condemned from birth to a shiftless and immoral life. There are places in Boston . . . in which it would be impossible to imagine a child growing up into healthy and self-respecting manhood. In the settlements one can read the book of life for he is brought face to face with the vast amount of injustice characterizing our social system. Thus one realizes the power of distorted forces in seeing ruined hopes and lives crushed out. The evils of intemperance, non-employment and the lack of care for children are viewed in a new light.

In reading this book of life, Mr. Woods gained confidence as to the manner of human nature from a response of the neighbors more ready than he had dared to expect. However variously he and his associates learned to know the district, the character of the streets, the administration of the law, the friendly aspect of the police captain and his men, the ways of the municipal service, they had a tutor in the essentials of life as it is lived, and he was an indigenous product. It was the small boy who first took them seriously and with whom they came into close range in the very personal way of approach that the House implied. To Mr. Woods the epitome of life at its best and its worst was the boy; he was seen victimized in adult failures and potentially a citizen of good repute as he lived above the grosser evils with which his life was encircled. He was often rough, sometimes bad; full of humor and eagerness. He was an interpretation of the neighborhood and the best of its life was seen to be lived by parents through their children. The door opened to one they vouched for as a

friend or who had a good word to say of them. But was he not among Irish people, and would they deny a man who saw a 'native land' of emerald hue?

Of this incomprehensible undertaking, considered by large numbers of thoughtful people to be at best vague and dreamy, of the possibility of establishing neighborly relations by intention and for a specific purpose, it could be safely predicated at the end of six months that it was full of opportunity and that 'in spite of a very considerable lack of response which would clearly take years to overcome, there were not a few ways by which the newcomer could at once begin to enter in and share the universally understood fellowship of neighbors. 'This has been,' said Mr. Woods, 'the golden thread which has guided the whole work of the settlement from the different small beginnings through many winding and arduous paths.'

CHAPTER VII

THE CITY'S CHALLENGE: A WORKING PHILOSOPHY

'The broad lack of comprehension which, at first, met the residents as they went about, was more easily understood by them because so many of their own friends were in the same attitude.' Especially to those who lived remote from the industrial travails of cities, poverty was but a mildly harassing rumor. A bewildering mental haze rose out of the news of a young man gone to live in the midst of the poor, whence ignorance and vice were heralded. 'What could he do about it?' wondered sympathetic friends. Some could have understood it if it had been a foreign mission field. But in a land of plenty and the Christian Church, why make the sacrificial offering of personal comfort and social prestige?

To such questions fructifying time could alone bring answer; it was better often not to try to explain one's purposes. Nevertheless, before the first year was gone Mr. Woods found himself in the rôle of interpreter of the philosophy of the settlement idea.

A Summer School of Ethics, held at Plymouth, Massachusetts, summoned Miss Addams and Mr. Woods to give account of the urgent motives by which they were impelled. It was then for the first time that Mr. Woods met Miss Addams, having been unable to accept her invitation to speak in Chicago two months earlier. A few others of the same social pioneering faith being present, the first settlement conference may be said to have been held at that time. Mr. Woods gave expression then to what was in years following a consciousness growing in strength, not of a cataclysmic change always about to happen, but of the actual process of revolution slowly making headway. Yet, while having a realizing sense of the historical current and of a profound movement in society, he showed

also his valuation of the influence of small concrete contributions to it which was also to the end characteristic of his working philosophy.

As evidence of his own growth the address makes clear that six months in the South End had quickened the fire of his soul. His enthusiasm is allowed to sweep away mists; faith and hope are both full and alert. In seeking to provide a coherent basis for the work to which he had set his hand it was necessary to make its large values understood.

If the undertaking had not been susceptible of this broad and fundamental interpretation in relation to the meaning of human life, it would not have held his allegiance. He had parted company with the idea that leading individual souls to God could be the sole end of the teaching of Christianity. The service of humanity must be the essential corollary of personal religion.

To him the great modern city is a nerve center of the organic social being which is in a growing process — what we call civilization. Every aspect of society has its relations to every other. The supreme task of men and women is to learn to work together for the highest destiny. This is the God-given task essential to human growth. It is by participation in this joint responsibility for human society, each in his own period of its history, that, first and last, comes full individual realization. It is for the fulfillment of life for all its members that the new social order stands.

We are working toward vast changes in the life of modern society, . . . so profound as to be likely to make over the inner and closer life of modern people.

What has been left undone by spent forces will be accomplished through the rising momentum of new forces. We find ourselves compelled, to-day, in the interest of civilization itself, to see that the influences of civilization penetrate into all the ramifications of society. The great city — the typical product of civilization — shows by multiple effects the danger of having people cut off from the better life of society, and breeding with phenomenal rapidity all the evils with which society is cursed. And the difficulty is by no means confined to the most crowded

quarters of cities. The poverty of the means of life is felt in other sections of cities besides those called the slums, among grades of people above those called the working people. . . .

Civilization is overreaching itself. Certain of its tendencies develop rankly, before corrective tendencies have begun to operate. The result is congestion in some places, and atrophy in others. We must find ways of uniting the parts of the social body, under the bonds of civilization, so that its vital influence shall not linger sluggishly at certain centres, but shall run strongly out into every distant extremity. It is no longer the negative ends of safety and freedom that are most to be sought for; it is as to the living out of life among the people that we are concerned.

Now, apart from all general movements, political, economic, educational, and religious, toward a more comprehensive and more delicate organization of social life, there is a necessity for work to be done at many points where social evils are intrenched so that they cannot be met, even if they could be rightly estimated, by such agencies. The arm of the law, public and private charity, benevolent societies and institutions, churches, may fulfill ever so well their particular functions; but as yet, with a few notable exceptions, there are great tracts of life that are not entered, and are hardly known of, by these existing agencies. There must be some influence which shall enter in and take possession of these tracts of life in the name of what is true and pure. The lines along which this influence shall act are varied, intricate, and ill-defined. It must come close to the lives of the people themselves. It must be keen and sensitive to every sort of delicate, subtle feeling they have. It must, in short, be a personal influence. The person must act in a close, continued intimacy with those to whom he comes; that is, he must be a neighbor. He must join freely in the neighborhood life. He must have so varied an interest in human affairs that he shall be able to enter actively into sympathy on some side of life with every one of them. He must not establish a propaganda. He must not at first even have methods. He must not set about building up one more institution. He must not hurry. Above all, he must not be anxious about results. . . .

A university, and a college in its measure, ought to be the special exponent of advancing civilization. It stands not only for a knowledge of the whole world as it is, but for the variety of human interests and hopes. The troubles of society ought to be most keenly felt there. That great masses of men and women

are cut off from the better life of society, unknown and uncared for, is, rightly considered, a direct imputation of shame upon the university.

The academic sociologist, writing a criticism of 'The University Settlement Idea,' found it suggestive but not convincing. 'His faults those of the enthusiast, an exuberant style not always in good taste and a tendency to prophecies and proposals which sober thought would modify.'

Mr. Woods's own account of the event was given in a letter to Dr. Tucker:

> The Plymouth conference went off very successfully. The college settlement women were there in force. There was quite a little brush between Miss Addams, supported by B——, and the rest of us as between the names 'social settlement' and 'University Settlement.'
>
> Will there be space for my address in the Review (Andover) . . . Brother Ward paid me the doubtful compliment of saying he didn't know I could do so well.

Important as it was to lay foundations of understanding in the minds of thoughtful contemporaries, Mr. Woods found a more compelling claim in the city now in its mediocre unsavory summer dress, and in meeting, on the doorstep of the Andover House, the challenge of the idle boy. The summer on duty, as he was now to learn, gives a running start for another season's progress. His letters to Dr. Tucker are of practical second steps:

> There is a very good man available as a resident in the fall or at Jan. 1st at the latest, and I have practically assured him that we would take him in. He is an Amherst man '87, named Sanborn. He is a good earnest fellow — says he is not orthodox, but he has the rest of the matter in him. Since leaving college he has done literary work for publishing houses, has been abroad twice and is now editor of *The Cottage Hearth*. He proposes to resign his position and go in in good earnest for several years. He will be very useful in many ways. He will fall in with the spirit of the place very well. He says he likes to keep a little literary work going, and I told him we should all be happier. He will be good at getting ac-

quainted, at carrying on classes, and would do excellently to join in with extension work. Possibly we could make him secretary though one does not like to spare so good a man for clerical work. And then he is like the Head of the House in lacking the executive trait.

This practically relieves of further concern as to residents. If the Harvard man comes we shall have a full house, and only a little sky parlor for a guest chamber.

The flower work is getting started very well. The girls and their leader, Mrs. Rutan, are both enthusiastic over it.

The preparations for the boys' club are waiting now for the closing of the bargain as to the third floor of a building in Waltham Street. It is not a large building but taking the whole floor gives ample room for a club of 100 boys. Now a good many of S——'s committee are away and he thinks if we could guarantee half the rent, it would be all right for him to take the place. I think we ought to have as much financial interest in the club as that, especially as the financial prospect for next year is hopeful. The rent will be $38 a month. . . .

I have been thinking a good deal about the plan of raising money for this club among men in the district, and I do not feel very hopeful. S—— says he has had very little success in that line. I think there must be very careful training of the hen that is to lay the golden egg.

It seems to me now that a canvass for money would be as much against our principles as a canvass for information, and I think it would be better to get acquainted gradually with local citizens and to educate them by object lessons as to their duty.

This neighborhood principle has to be worked out very carefully, it seems to me, or else you get into the absurdities that killed the Neighborhood Guild in New York.

A new situation, and I think a very hopeful one, is just coming into view. The older fellows who came in on Saturday evenings last winter have begun to come in again, and there is another crowd that has begun to come in with them. It struck me that we had a good nucleus for a quasi independent club among fellows of their own age (18–20) in our neighborhood. I had three of them in last night and they received the plan with approval. They suggested the names of over thirty whom they thought to be available, with others still as possible. They thought 25 cents a week would not be too heavy a tax for anyone. I think the thing to do is to try to get a room which will be open every night,

and where a variety of things can be carried on. It seems to me a splendid opportunity to do a good thing. These fellows represent all the sections of the population in the neighborhood as we laid it out.

Please telegraph me about paying half the rent for the small boys' club.

In the autumn again it was necessary to write:

I am sorry to say that our treasury is now vacant. . . . Col. Hopkins has several times expressed anxiety lest that check which came in last summer came out of your own pocket. . . .

The inevitable logic of events here is that we must have another man if possible; and for a general conclusion that we must no longer expect men with special outside interests to be anything more than supernumeraries so far as service here is concerned. . . .

As things are left, it ties me down to the boys' club . . . but even then the helpers often do not come and one man cannot keep the boys down. Also the visiting is in danger of going by default, though Sanborn is interested in such work. But I can see with absolute clearness that there is a chance to make, or almost to lose our future, this winter. If I could have one strong interested fellow to be a right-hand man this winter, I could put the scheme upon a basis, where so far as the work itself is concerned any ordinary contingency could not seriously disturb it, so that, for instance, if other persons should come in, everything would go on smoothly.

Dec. 4, 1892

The resources and credit of the Andover House, the head of the House and about everybody connected with it are absolutely exhausted. . . .

Waldo is going to do splendidly, Sanborn is also going in with a will. . . . Waldo will be able to deal with the Back Bay better than I. . . . Morris is going to conduct the young men's club. They will discuss current events. The boys' club will go on well now I think. Conservatory girls come four nights in the week. The carpenter shop is now running two nights a week, and there are drawing classes on two nights.

I am going to make an 'address' to-night in an Episcopal church taking the place of the regular sermon. I have an invitation to go to Pittsburgh to talk to a club of thirty of the most in-

fluential citizens. If I find that their eyes are at all open to the light, I think I will go.

Everything is going quite well but the visiting and investigation.

Dec. 7, 1892

Waldo is going to be a great addition to our work here.... There are few fellows who go to the root of the matter, so far as practical effort is concerned, in the way he does.

We are just having a re-awakening in the matter of the boys' clubs which promises great things. Perrine and Howe (of the Youth's Companion) were here on Sunday night. With Waldo and Sanborn they discussed the situation until they decided on several improvements, which I at once saw the value of when I came in. Last night we went all over the ground, and I send a scheme indicating the result. If we can only work this out we shall have something very fine in the way of boys' clubs.

Perrine has suggested coming down here, and I have told him we should be glad to have him but he would have to room in some neighboring house.... I believe that by another year we can take another house.

Every silver lining has its cloud. After talking several times with B——, I find that he is out of sympathy with neighborhood work. He seems to have gone into it out of sentiment, and now when he finds sentiment does not melt away difficulties, he becomes thoroughly convinced that the way to improve Frank's Court is by improving the world in general through reforms and agitations. He expresses himself as thinking the club work to be petty and even wrong, when we might be joining the 'great movements of the time.' It seems sad that we can't get men who will face the issue. We shall be glad to make good use of the cash to-morrow.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PATTERN OF A SETTLEMENT YEAR

The 'happy hunting ground' of the 'Old Guard' among the leaders of the settlements would be that period of beginnings when no one knew what the day nor yet the hour might bring forth. Cherished in the backward look would be a pristine exaltation rising with the rapid traversing of the scale of human experience in its varying manifestations as they were found composed by the work of a day within the city's limits. Inevitably the seasoned resident discounts in advance the surprises and rapid transformations of a winter's work with which all his years have been attended. The pattern of a year is found only with the resetting of events after the unforeseen accidents which a group of people in a swiftly moving tide of circumstance can produce.

What the days contained of manifold activity for the head resident of the Andover House during the critical year of 1893 was measurably repeated in many later ones, so much has the strain of eventfulness been kept by the flexible policy taken from Toynbee Hall lessons of remaking the program, overnight if necessary, to meet the facts. The need of such dynamic substitution was deeply impressed upon Mr. Woods by the events which he was now called upon to guide. He recovered from disappointments in the lack of persistence and enthusiasm of others always with the sanguine expectation of yet gathering the group that would be fortified with these important qualities. His own uncertainties yielded to his racial obstinacy and to a lengthening perspective in which he could see the coming of another year's work as each day in its turn added to the momentum with which to proceed.

It was already evident that new men from the Seminary could not be counted on to forward that part of the plan of

the Andover House most closely associated with their own future as ministers. The challenge of the neighborhood, on the other hand, which Mr. Woods had accepted as of first consideration, required the fullest devotion of time and energy. Instead of directing social investigations into the causes of poverty, industrial conditions, and allied questions, he found himself studying with much care the way of the successful management of boys' clubs, following the first winter's lesson: 'The entire work of the settlement makes demands upon skill and energy such as can be met only by patient practice.' Behind this sentence lay the picture of a dignified house given over now to boys and then to girls accustomed to the rough and tumble of the streets. That they were under control at all showed that they felt some pervading sense of friendliness. 'The effort to meet the boys at close range, and in the midst of home surroundings, has been appreciated by many of the boys, though perhaps a majority of our district are not yet ready for this sort of treatment. For them, as indeed for all the boys, some larger and freer quarters will be necessary.' So was an axiom of boys' work laid down out of a few months' experience. But when, through the impatience of some one, the difficulties of the larger quarters not being quickly resolved, these were closed, the problem was again on his hands. The result was to press the issue of the small club which could be managed in the residence, to a success that caused its survival even when the desired accommodations became possible.

These were the beginning days of settlement fellowship. Three other projects were started in Boston, with one of which, Denison House, founded by women from the colleges, Mr. Woods entered into active working relations, including in their coöperation the Wells Memorial Institute with a decade of experience in educational endeavor for the workingman. A visit from Miss Addams to the sister settlement, for consultation about a conference in Chicago during the World's Fair, created for him the rôle of guide and director of engagements which continued

to provide occasional agreeable agenda for his elastic program, when visitors appeared from England or other parts of the United States with like-minded concern for social progress. The hospitality of the settlement soon became proverbial; much lively discussion over the dinner table had its special value in clarifying the purposes of the enterprise. A friendship of youth with the Reverend George Hodges, rector of Calvary Church in Pittsburgh, brought Mr. Woods in as adviser in the start of a settlement there. So another thread was introduced into the pattern of the future.

Speaking gave occasion for definition of the settlement in relation to the Church:

> It must be said in the beginning that the settlement represents a motive and an attitude, not a fixed program and a complicated organization.
>
> Instead of drawing people within its own circle, it goes out to meet them where they are. It shares their interests and activities. . . . It seeks fellowship with men for fellowship's sake, and not merely for the sake of securing certain definite ways of improvement in them. Thus the settlement represents the principle of not taking men out of the world, but of bringing them into a more abundant life in the world, by reliance not upon formula or institution but upon a free and lavish expenditure of personal influence.
>
> It is not to be understood, in any case, that the settlement represents a kind of moral schism from the Church.
>
> Let us have aggressive religious propaganda; but as long as it is necessarily socially divisive, let us keep it separate from certain other noble interests of life, as to which we can establish a genuine catholicity of sympathy.

Though a place for the settlement in the neighborhood was assured by the participation of the children, there remained the urgency of sharing in the adult interests of the people of the district as a means of understanding the common life and in the hope of being able to contribute to it some of the enhancements which are part of the privileges of education.

Mr. Woods had immediately hunted out whatever associations were the outcome of local life and attended the meetings of the South End Total Abstinence Society, which seemed to have some moral leadership. He had also very soon made acquaintance among trade-unionists and was already finding opportunity for service in their cause.

It needed longer acquaintance, however, to realize how barren was life as lived in that section of the city, for most of its people. Meantime he undertook, out of the knowledge gained at Toynbee Hall, to deal in a constructive way with his problem, to create some common ground of interest that would be inspiriting. The proposal of an Art Exhibition under the auspices of the Andover House and Denison House, to be held in a public hall in the South End close at hand to the haunts of Dover Street, was a forerunner of Mr. Woods's sense for strategy. It gave interpretation both to the neighborhood people and to those of other parts of the city as to the plane of life in which the settlements were intended to function. As it came off, it was just the tonic which in the face of uncertainties a real achievement can produce. The 'Coöperative Philanthropy' of his earlier inexperienced thinking was brought to realization by the spirit in which leading artists and art lovers combined to carry through the plan. It was not without its valued educational experience for himself; it showed him how to use opportunities for knowing the people of one's own time, in letting one's self be taught. Going on a Sunday afternoon to see both people and pictures, he came away feeling that he had got much more from the pictures than he had when seeing them alone. He had talked about them with this variety of people:

> The caretaker of the collection, a man who, with no particular training, had become the one person always sought for this particular task, and who has come to have a sagacious sense as to the merits of pictures. A plain-clothes detective, a rough-and-ready sort of man, whom I had known in connection with his varied services in the police department. A young mechanic. A

group of shopgirls. The proprietor of a large downtown store. Several artists. Several owners of pictures who had loaned them for the collection. I found of course [he concludes], that I learned a great deal more about the pictures on my second visit than I did upon my first.

Of the life within the House, one of the men of that year wrote:

Every one has gone out to something or other, and I take the first part of a pretty free evening for a letter to you. It would be a longish story to tell you the object of College Settlements . . . my expectation is that I shall be able to do a good deal more with the Boys' Club, to have a few chosen spirits from them here in the evening for some more personal intercourse than the crowd permits, and to help in various classes and entertainments for the older people of the neighborhood. As yet not much has been done in this direction, but before long a big free Loan Exhibition of good pictures is to be managed here for the people of this region. In this I shall be able to lend a hand, and any number of other things will come up by degrees. . . . This evening I have had four boys from the club to spend the evening with me here. I won their hearts by writing them separate notes of invitation — which they all brought with them — and boasted of having been able to read, one, even, without his sister's help. The same boys are coming to see my office on Saturday. I think we shall become good friends!

Mr. Woods is a man who attracts me greatly and has my full confidence. He has studied the 'Social Problem' pretty carefully and has written admirably on the cities' poor.

The other men make up a mixed group, very different from my old associates but all dead in earnest and strong fellows. You know I had cared something about it all for over a year, and this winter's try at the Boys has added to my interest. Then I was feeling more and more strongly that I ought to be doing something or other different from the old routine of amusement outside the office. . . . As for the comforts and conveniences of existence, they are quite adequate to my needs. The housekeeper supplies excellent simple fare and plenty of it. You will see that I have gone in for no great martyrdom, and have done nothing that should be thought remarkable to any degree.

. . . Since coming I have had several interesting evenings. . . .

The interruption last night was due to Mr. Woods's arrival from a visit to Pittsburgh, and much talk about the coming Art Exhibition. After the talk we took a walk to the North End, the Italians' and sailors' quarter, where my eyes were opened to more repellent scenes than our sordid region is wont to afford. If I keep on I shall really know something about more than one side of a city's life.[1]

The Andover House was conceived by Dr. Tucker as a field laboratory for the seminary. It was out of his own experience of the needs of a city pastor for a practical understanding of the life of working people that he seized upon the idea of the English Universities as expressed in Toynbee Hall, Oxford House, and Mansfield House. Its immediate development as a neighborhood affair, largely due to the concreteness of mind characteristic of his head resident, met with his generous approval. They both saw these beginnings as necessary foundations for any broader uses, but their point of view to be serviceable to theological students needed to be inculcated by the preliminary social science courses which Dr. Tucker had been developing and Mr. Woods supplementing as a lecturer at the seminary.

As to the warp of the enterprise, to be worked out in financial terms, the future had not been penetratingly considered. Mr. Woods being still tentative as to his own connection was taking such matters lightly, as his letters suggest, even to Dr. Tucker's decision to accept the call to the presidency of Dartmouth College. In January he had written to Dr. Tucker:

. . . I see the Dartmouth meeting seems to smell a mouse and almost to see him flying through the air. If both you and I are to be away from the scene next year, we must put in some heavy strokes this winter. I am glad you are getting at the financial foundation. I think our friends are beginning to feel that the House has come to stay.

I am on the ground again. The Pittsburgh trip was fairly successful. Things are waking up there. I spoke in the leading

[1] From Mr. M. A. DeWolfe Howe.

Episcopal church, taking the time allotted to the sermon in the evening service, standing in the pulpit, wearing a black gown.

The millionaire club listened patiently and with some show of interest for an hour.

I suppose the council will be meeting next Monday. We shall soon have to be canvassing some large schemes for next fall. The problem of work among men must be tackled next year.

Wadhams brought in a check for $50. He said, '*This will make the poor smile.*' He got it from a clothing house man.

Howe is going to bring us some new and valuable friends.

The city has granted the hall for the Art Exhibition. Would it not be a good plan to give a reception while that is on, to the members of the Association? It would be educational for them to see the thing as it will be worked.

Is there anything new about your successor? I am told by a couple of the students that Peabody made more of an impression than Gladden. . . .

With the close of the year he began to have some sense of the additional responsibility which Dr. Tucker's remoteness in New Hampshire with heavier duties had placed upon him if their common venture was to survive, and wrote:

Professor Harris writes me that Mr. Hardy will not advance any more money out of Seminary funds. Meanwhile I have to live a sort of orchid existence. Can you not get at the list of people which you took — those who gave last year and have not given this year? C——'s money just brought things up to date. We have all of November's bills to pay — so something must be done before the Council meeting. I am going to get the new men to come.

The Haverhill people are going to arrange a course of lectures for me and with that money I shall be able to pay the wages of a girl to help me. The *Bulletin* is to be paid for by the business men who meet here.

The use of the settlement as the equivalent of a science laboratory for a sound knowledge of organic social life was a matter of deep moment in Mr. Woods's view of its largest usefulness. He had said during the winter, when occasion offered, in discussing Christian Socialism:

We are beginning to see that those who have the opportunity to go to the bottom of the social scale and look up toward the top have a clearer insight into the larger relations in which society stands. . . . Christian Socialism is an attempt through the agency of the gospel to supply every possible human need by every possible human means. From that point of view the first thing we come to consider is the present condition of society. What a vast proportion of the best human powers are either absolutely disused or abused! . . . The word 'socialism' suggests at first a gospel of contrivances. . . . It is the gospel of personality that we need. . . . Every man should consider himself a servant of society. . . . But in addition to this there must be a very deep and a very rational organization of the powers of society, which to-day are disordered. The people must interest themselves in the problems of the people. . . . What we want most is the economic and social man, the man who will realize that whatever he does is a public trust. . . .

It was for the training of such men that he saw the university settlement as offering a unique opportunity.

When, therefore, as in the previous summer, he was called upon to interpret the settlement, it was this phase of the experiment which he sought to formulate. It was a conception feared by some of his pioneer colleagues as savoring of a lack of humanity, and scouted by the academic as being too human. The address, entitled 'University Settlements as Laboratories in Social Science,' was given before the International Congress of Charities and Correction held in connection with the World's Fair in Chicago. Among the older members of this conference, which as a national body met annually and is now known as the National Conference of Social Work, the advocates of new views about organized, scientific charity were themselves scarcely acceptable. In the academic fold social science was in like case. The settlement doctrine attempted still another breach in the established order of thought and treatment of poverty and its attendant evils. The year before Mr. Woods had said:

The forces of civilization must be mobilized, and made ready for every sort of transference, until every tenement block, every

country hamlet, may be able each in its kind to summon for its use all that can push out the present boundaries of life so as to make life what it is designed to be. From the point of view of the individual, and at close range, this is philanthropy; from the point of view of society, this is only far-sighted social statesmanship.

He endeavored now to show how a technique could be developed for a definitely constructive social process:

The university settlement, in its deepest meaning, is not a charitable or philanthropic establishment. Social science is not, like geology or astronomy, a science which has its results only in the progress which comes from conforming exactly to data which will be practically the same whether we conform or not; social science includes within its data the constructive and reconstructive energy of the conscious mind. It is the science of social nutrition and hygiene, of social pathology and therapeutics. . . . The field is the world; and the particular territory for study and experiment by the university settlement includes the whole reach and depth of human life in that little world which lies within the narrow limits of the neighborhood of which the residents are a part. . . . Its domain for practical investigation and action lies very largely in the life of the poorer classes, and to justify its existence the settlement movement must in due time present some substantial results in the way of understanding and of bettering the conditions of life as regards poverty and labor. It is as actual residents of a neighborhood which presents these problems most strongly that settlement workers are able to bring to the more favored classes in the community a better knowledge and a better feeling with regard to social evils. As residents of such a neighborhood, also, they go naturally into the study of those larger phases of social conditions which can be appreciated only by taking the range of a city as a whole. This includes all that is connected with the government of the city, with the management of business enterprises conducted by the municipality, and the general direction of the public school system. . . . In order to know his own neighborhood well, the settlement worker must know other neighborhoods. . . . And so in study and experiment with regard to those better lines of social action which need to be introduced into the neighborhood and local district, the residents are led at once to the investigation of such larger enterprise as is

already active in the city, whether it be in the way of charity, philanthropy, popular education, trade organization, or religious effort. . . . Often it becomes the duty of a resident of a settlement, in the interest of the city as a whole, to take steps toward the further development of partial measures, and toward the introduction from the beginning of new schemes in one line or another of social advance. . . . There is much in the spirit and method of settlement work which as yet finds no direction from the traditions, writings, or experience of others. It stands, in a particular way, for the tardy entrance into social work of those who have presumably been nurtured after the best manner in the truths and impulses of the higher human life and the later human civilization, into a deliberate career of social reconstruction. . . . They come, if they are loyal to their nurture, with devotion to everything that goes to make up the good and beautiful life. This life serves as a kind of standard, which regulates their sense of proportion of things, by which they measure the evils of social conditions, and by which they measure the healing virtue of social resources. The university settlement resident comes to his study and his work with a stirring belief in the life-giving quality of culture. He holds every good thing a means of grace. He is, if he is truly educated, a believer in man, a democrat, a citizen of the world: . . . and he sees in every human life what rouses in him living interests, honest admiration, something worthy of companionship, of laughter, of tears. Such is the scientist in this new kind of laboratory. . . . The basis upon which the neighborhood work proceeds is that of acquaintance and friendship. . . . The reproach of social science thus far has been that it has not sought out and presented the elusive but distinctive quality and essence of human life. Where in any accurate actual study, save those of Frederic Le Play and Charles Booth, does one feel all along that persons, men and women — souls if you please — are being dealt with? Social science, if it is to be truly scientific, dealing with human beings, must use the most delicate human apparatus in the way of personal acquaintance and sympathy, in order to gain accurate and delicate results. . . .

He assigns to social science the important study of the capacity of people for carrying forward the processes of association and coöperation, so necessary to the advance of democracy, but already he has begun to see that this

faculty does not exist in and of itself to a high degree among many people and that 'it is, after all, in influences brought from without that the hope of progress in most of the poorer quarters of the city comes,' under such leadership from without, local responsibility is to be drawn upon and initiative developed. Here is found another phase of social experiment out of which a method of science may be deduced. He sees indeed that, 'for every calling in life which has to do with the strengthening and upbuilding of society,' a real knowledge of people such as in two years he has found himself and his associates acquiring is essential for successful work; the training of men and women so as to develop 'skilled social workers and to send them out, not merely into professional charity and philanthropy, but into every kind of human activity, to broaden every form of human service so as to make it a truly social function.'

The visit to Chicago brought Mr. Woods into close fellowship with the residents then at Hull House and much zest was given to their common pioneering ventures by the exchange of ideas mingled with wit and enthusiasm which a sympathetic accord, spiced, we may be sure, with some differences of opinion, drew forth. A second visit during the World's Fair program took him there again in the autumn when both he and Miss Addams presented to the Evangelical Conference the settlements as practical examples of Social Christianity.

In the interval portents of an economic cataclysm throughout the country were observable. Warning came first in letters from Hull House:

> We are sunken under a mass of the unemployed morning, noon, and night. It seems to me the human soul must have grown utterly callous and scarred, or we couldn't bear it that a man must be catechised as to the number of his children before he can work if he wants to.
>
> . . . How is your halo? I have been much concerned about it. I should be sadly distressed to see it diminished but I don't really look for that. What I fear is that you will have the discomfort of asking for the money without getting much. Even Miss Addams

has much ado about a little, and I shouldn't have said that a very judicious disposition of talents was made when you were set at that. I should call it a waste. . . .

A letter from Mr. Woods reflects the concern of another observer whose friendship and stimulating criticism he greatly appreciated. To Miss Anna L. Dawes of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, he replied:

The sad figure which you saw represents to my view a great evil which charity and philanthropy can never remedy. First, work must be provided for the unemployed. It is the duty of a government which guarantees the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Then, we must so arrange our economic system that there shall not be any unemployed.

Charity does noble and necessary Red-Cross work; but we must stop the slaughter. It is because the settlements stand for striking a treaty on just terms, that they have a right to be. Friend B——'s great mistake is in considering the settlement workers as rather vainglorious amateurs of *charity*.

The distinction will come out more and more clearly; though we must speak in parables still.

If the settlements did not stand for positive social reconstruction, if they did not stand for a great deal more than themselves, I should not be much interested in them. The material world has gone through a marvelous revolution during the century. Why may not the moral world in the next?

We shall be very glad to have the copy of *Lend-a-Hand* containing your Chicago paper. We do believe in Charity. We believe in medicine; but we believe in hygiene more.

And again:

The only reply to your question is that the relation between the settlements and their neighbors is an artificial one. I don't know that it can ever be otherwise. Dr. Coit, Miss Addams, and Miss Scudder, all think that this can and will be remedied by having settlements of families in working-class quarters. This I do not believe. I think it is harder to make the family democratic in its outward attitude than it is to make the individual so. There are also certain dangers in the experiment with the family which seem to me too great to be risked. Yet I am quite ready to be-

lieve that people in general will become tired of being shut in with a single class in society; so tired that they may seek some unmistakable way of escape.

What a blessing it would be to Fifth Avenue to have a settlement of mechanics there. It may sometime come about.

The way in which society is going to be democratized, however, it seems to me, is going to be through the gradual progress and gradual recognition of the skilled workman. He must be helped to gain the position he had in the Middle Ages; when the artisans were poets and artists also.

The settlements are only worth while as they lead to this. But it will come whether they continue or not. The world is bound to be saved; if not through settlements, churches, etc., then in spite of them.

CHAPTER IX

FINANCIAL PANIC: WHERE THE BURDEN FALLS

Mr. Woods had returned to Boston from the consideration, at his second Chicago conference, of a program of action for a better social order, to find in his own neighborhood indications of increasing trouble. Already, before the normal changes to winter working conditions, men were unable to find work. The question he and his associates were bound to ask was whether this presaged an acute need, or was it a chronic part of the usual unintelligent lack of a fair industrial adjustment; or was it, indeed, merely the fault of the workingmen themselves? There were, they found, no available facts upon which to base a judgment, and no well-informed opinion to follow. Clear thinking was greatly needed; to this they set themselves and while endeavoring to get at the true state of things, Mr. Woods proposed a principle by which a plan to meet the threatening emergency might be guided. 'How the superintendent of the Andover House regards the matter,' appearing in a newspaper symposium, gave expression to the pitch of feeling roused by the situation:

> The public authority, speaking generally, says that every man must work. Beggars and tramps are liable to imprisonment. This requirement has all along been based upon an understanding that there is always work for those who are willing to do it. Until within a few years in this country there has been work enough. Up to three years ago it was said in Boston that employment could always be found for worthy and capable men. This is no longer said in Boston. The city stands, therefore, saying to its citizens, you must work, without being able, officially or unofficially, to say to all, you may work. It imposes upon all the command, and withholds from many an opportunity to obey the command. . . .
>
> If there were enough funds for private charity in Boston to relieve adequately all the distress among the unemployed, that

charity would do more harm than good; and would not meet the case besides. The self-respecting and energetic working people do not want charity under any circumstances; it is a chance they want. It would be far more to the interest of the community to set all the worthy unemployed to digging ditches and filling them up again at days' wages than to have them compelled to become recipients of charity.

I do not undertake to discuss the various ways in which men might be most usefully employed in public works. I refer simply to the public justice involved in the demand that the public shall be responsible for enough employment to secure bread and shelter in their own homes, without charitable invasions of any sort, to all industrious citizens who, without any ill-desert of their own, are victims of abnormal economic conditions, for which the community as a whole must bear the blame.

The second year of living in the South End was now drawing to its close. No summary of it would be complete in reviewing the important events of Mr. Woods's life without a reference to the visits of his two English friends, William Clarke and Graham Wallas, for whom with the residents at Denison House he had arranged a most successful course of lectures on Socialism. They brought as well 'illumination and inspiration to not a few hard-pressed leaders,' among whom Mr. Woods counted himself. In spite, however, of the uncertainties with which he was beset there is an optimistic vein in his story of the year's achievements:

The House to-day stands for a positive, and we think a natural, influence in the neighborhood. The residents are on terms of friendly acquaintance with a good proportion of the families living near about. An increasing number of new efforts toward the broadening and uplifting of life are being introduced. Some of the neighbors are learning to think of the House as a place where they may honorably find help and cheer, given for its own sake without any hidden motive. . . . In the larger district of which the neighborhood is a part, the residents have come to be familiar with more general social conditions. They have come into touch with the organizations of workingmen, and have entered into active coöperation with the various agencies for charitable effort

and for promoting the freedom and progress of the working classes. In the city as a whole, they have endeavored to acquaint themselves with the general social situation, and, in an especially careful way with some of the more important phases of the life of the working people and of the casual and dependent elements at the bottom of society. An active interest has been taken in the beginnings of a comprehensive plan, which has strong support, for a labor bureau, to meet the needs in a systematic way of the various grades of the unemployed.

It has been found constantly that work among the people brings with it not only an illumination as to the people's life but as to one's own life. One is shifted almost unwittingly into a new point of view from which, we cannot doubt, the various affairs of human existence are more clearly and truly understood, and from which as a point of departure for action one can move with a clearer insight, a far deeper human feeling. But on the whole, though identification with the people is so important an object — or perhaps we might say because it is so important an object — the House has taken no sudden and dramatic way of seeking this identification; it has sought to bring about such a relation through a quiet development after the manner of nature.

He had begun to have, however, a sense of the contribution which time itself makes:

The longer stay has been of the greatest value to the residents in ways that are less obvious, in the tried and proved friendship with people of the neighborhood, the trained instinct resulting from experience for knowing what to do under trying circumstances, and above all the lively interest in the events of the life about them and the keen sense of its humor and its gloom which comes to them day by day.

There were no graduate students of the Seminary in residence at the Andover House after the second year, but Mr. Woods had strengthened his forces by enlisting the services of Mr. Henry G. Pearson to take the brunt of the club work with the boys. The residents of the past winter with social relationships in Boston brought material reenforcements to the loyal group of volunteers growing with each season both in experience and in faith in the leadership of the House. Reverend George Hooker, already a

resident of Hull House, spent the winter at Rollins Street, making, with Alvan Sanborn still doing heroic service there, the fourth in the succession of Amherst men to forward the new enterprise. The arrangements fortunately enabled Mr. Woods to meet the rising emergencies of the winter without serious loss to the club work with the children and young people in whom he saw the life of the settlement developing with an ascending scale of interests.

The financial panic of 1893 came with its crest into the backwaters of life in Boston during the winter months of 1894. It opened that account of service which requires of the settlement resident a mental reservation as to a margin of time for the unexpected calls in the year's work. Any remaining philosophic detachment of mind, with which Mr. Woods had enjoyed in Andover planning with Dr. Tucker a deliberate venture, was soon swept aside as the rapid movement from the world of affairs gave ruthless evidence of the interdependence of the factors in society.

The young men at the Andover House found themselves in the limelight when their estimate of the number of men out of work in Boston ran over thirty thousand. The police had a figure of five or six thousand, perhaps twice the number they expected of a winter. How was the discrepancy to be accounted for? Confusion of thinking, with the shadow of prejudice against working people obscuring a recognition of the facts, characterized the situation in which Mr. Woods was called upon to hold a position between opposing camps. Fortunately, the sympathetic understanding with labor leaders, established in the preceding two years, made it possible for him to be of some help to them. The general community of Boston preferred to deal with out-of-work on the basis of charity rather than responsibly to recognize it as an integral concern in the direction of the economic system. With an intensity born of the growing need among his neighbors Mr. Woods took early occasion to say:

> There is a labor problem. It is worth while saying so because up to the present this has not been unquestioned. It is not neces-

sary to contend in general that the poor are growing poorer as the rich are growing richer; but in our own country we have been developing a phenomenally wealthy class, and, at the same time, have been importing poverty into the country in great masses. And this winter, what we have been reading about during recent years with a sort of wonder, the uprising of the unemployed in London, we ourselves in all our large cities stand in danger of.

We all know certainly this winter, what some of us have known for long, that there are honest and industrious men who cannot find honorable employment, and have no way to earn what will feed and clothe and house their families. This is the acute phase of the labor problem, but though it has the most dramatic and immediate appeal, it is not the most serious evil affecting labor.

It was in considerable measure the evidence of his practical judgment seen in action during the winter that opened to him a fairer hearing as to the workingman's cause when the peak of the trouble had passed.

The threatening of this economic storm had been felt in Boston by the spring of 1893 when the banks of the city supplied $5,000,000 to the national treasury. Back of this was a three years' history: 'The calendar year of 1890 presented a flood tide record as to the volume of general trade in the United States.' But along with tremendous growth came complications: 'the Sherman Law for the purchase of silver and the failure of Baring Brothers in London, together with the high pressure of industrial production stimulated by the McKinley Tariff Act. The withdrawal of English money after 1890 created an export movement of gold in 1893.' Reminiscent of that period, Major Henry L. Higginson of Boston wrote:

> . . . The developments of the nineteenth century seem incredible. . . . The great officers of great corporations . . . have lived under high pressure of new and difficult enterprise; under the powerful influences of the greatest and worst trust in existence, — our United States tariff, — which has given our nation great wealth and has also been the source of great corruption.

Another Boston contemporary, living actively in touch with the affairs of the day, acutely realized that 'Nowhere

were the issues clear. Capitalism was top-heavy with abuses on the one side; it controlled our politics.' To which should be added from the student of labor conditions: 'The political self-complacency of the trade unions came to an abrupt end in 1892 due to the overwhelming strength of the employing class and far-reaching control over both State and National Government.' It took five years for recovery from the crash which these conditions brought.

To be living in the South End of Boston at such a time was to follow the pulse of industrial depression. It was not alone the neighborhood from which Mr. Woods got his day-to-day accounting of the situation, though there he saw the proof of the statement of Charles Booth that 'to the well-to-do the very poor are a sentimental interest, but to the working people they are a crushing load.' At the in-town boundary of the district the trade unions had their headquarters, quiet enough during busy seasons, but filling the streets with men during the day when work is slack and at night with packed halls keeping hearts and bodies warm, and offering on the platforms safety valves for anxious watchers of the tide. Here, as John Graham Brooks recorded, 'Bitterness showed itself against charity and against every assumption that individuals were to blame for being poor or out of work . . . where the laborer turned upon his opponents with "Your economists and your politicians are both hurrying to admit that the chief causes of poverty and the unemployed are social!"' A feeling that was not helped by the fact that an emergency Citizens' Committee for the distribution of aid would not include a labor representative from among the very group which was living in the midst of unemployment and struggling with its problems.

Another sign of the times was encountered on Washington Street, about Dover Street, where one recognized that residuum of labor coming from a wider area than Boston with a waning self-respect still further sacrificed for a night's lodging in police stations. The first of these to come are the last to go, being indeed almost the unemploy-

able, happier when idleness seems to have a justification. Such men were the gauge by which charitable agencies and the police read conditions of unemployment and formed their estimate of workingmen. It was this class which Mr. Woods sought to get classified separately from the skilled and intelligent men of the trades or the respectable home-keeping laborers in the rank and file of South End life. 'They represent an irresponsible and damaging competition in the labor market. . . . They serve to obscure the essential justice of the purposes and motives that go to make up the labor movement.'

John Graham Brooks as the chronicler of the times wrote: 'What was the chief blinding fact of that situation? It was the fact that the whole mass with which the problem had to do was mixed hopelessly through and through with the professional beggar, with the tramp, the dead-beat element.' Much of the one hundred thousand dollars relief fund of the Citizens' Committee went to such wayfarers. Supposing fifteen thousand responsible workmen were so hard pressed by lack of work as to need aid, Mr. Brooks pointed out that their loss in wages would have been over a million dollars. But it was not merely the inadequacy of the relief to meet the bare needs of this class of people — these men would not enroll themselves on the lists with the dead-beat, the homeless, and the forlorn.

The newspapers took up the discussion of relief centering around the now outworn doctrine of discrimination in almsgiving as between the 'Worthy and Unworthy Poor.' Mr. Woods again urged a plan for employment on public works, adding: 'The indolent and vicious constitute what are called the "unworthy poor." A considerable proportion of these people are not responsible for their unfitness. Nevertheless they are unfit. It is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us.' The trade unions took care of their members as far as their funds would permit, but these were insufficient to carry through the winter. It was at this point that Mr. Woods was able to make use of his social cross-cuts to render an appreciated service.

In a confidential way he was able to explain to Mr. Robert Treat Paine that the need which the unions were in honor bound to meet was larger than their available resources could take care of. With Mr. Paine's help he was able to secure additional funds. He was then made treasurer of the Central Labor Union Relief Committee. The *camaraderie* engendered in the course of this service was a very happy recollection. Among the members of the committee as they conscientiously reviewed their 'cases' he became 'Robert' or 'Bob Woods,' and remained so thereafter. When in 1915 conditions seemed to point to similar difficulties and he was again asked to be a member of the Central Labor Union Relief Committee, he told me, in a confidentially subdued voice with a lively smile, and a pleased twinkle of the eye as the human savor of the experience welled up in his mind, how he had once unofficially bridged the gap. It was not, he felt, nearly so much that he had secured the money, but that it was given to him to understand the mingled shame and pride which makes the average workman inarticulate when it comes to the business of needing help. He knew without being told that the men on the committee appreciated his comprehension of this unexplainable phenomenon.

There was some drift of sentiment friendly to the workingmen coming out of the winter's experience. The distinguished president of the Associated Charities, Mr. Robert Treat Paine, led the way in admitting that a mistake had been made in having 'kept those men from the committee,' as Mr. Brooks further tells us, and as a reflection of that period says: 'Nothing now more marks the best economic thought than the tendency to set before itself some sort of ideal of human relationships in society.'

This disposition had not been without expression during the winter. Mr. Woods found support for his own sympathetic attitude among the members of the Opportunist Club, some of whom had first-hand knowledge of the obstinacy of the prevailing employers' point of view. One of them, indeed, as a newly elected director of a manufactur-

ing business, desired to introduce seats for the workers in a mill, suitable closets for their clothes, a simple device for having cold lunches served hot at noontime. While not denied by his elders, there was no appreciation of his motives till the enhanced productive capacity of the employees was definitely demonstrated. Better to tread softly and leave well-enough alone was a way of thinking among them. Not that they meant to be brutal, but that they conceived of working people as being inured to hardship; made, so to speak, for the dirty, hard work of the world. They might become soft and dissatisfied if conditions were changed. If they did not like what they had, it was their business to show the brains and initiative to find what they wanted.

This group of young business and professional men, already formed for the discussion of social problems and calling themselves the Opportunist Club, was meeting at the Andover House when the unemployed began to walk the streets. They smoked hard every Monday evening and temporarily turned fire eaters in the earnestness of their search for a better order of things and an immediate way of being of use.

Mr. Woods sat behind the smoke screen, not saying very much, but ready to join forces when the discussions brought them to practical proposals. One outcome was the opening of a five-cent restaurant on the street where the idle men congregated during the day. Three of the group organized and managed the place during the winter and sold thousands of meals. Mr. Edward B. Field says he used to buy the meat by the ton. As an emergency measure it had the distinction of paying its way and of being continued for some years as business. Another place for women followed the first successful venture. Espousing Mr. Woods's suggestions as to public employment, they appeared with labor men and other sympathizers before the State Legislature and the City Council, so that it was possible to report of the winter's work of the house, 'valuable strokes in the way of hastening appropriations which

involved the employment of labor, and also in securing representative support for the proposal of a State commission upon the unemployed which was soon appointed.'

As a sequel to the long evenings of discussion out of which these and other future services of like character eventuated, Mr. Woods often went for a walk. Mr. Hooker, who sometimes accompanied him, would suggest at first the direction of the more open spaces of the city to get away from the scene of deep and anxious concern. But the compelling sense for the haunts of men was not to be denied. Mr. Woods instinctively turned his steps down Washington Street, where, even if the jostling night crowd had spent itself, the contrasting quiet was still suggestive of the pathos of its wonted human traffic.

The first anxieties of the winter, as to possible acts of violence that might signalize a revolt against undue suffering, were dispelled by close acquaintance with labor men and the steadiness of control exercised by their leaders. The irresponsible were seen to be lacking in the power of leadership. One of the humorous events which relax the tension of emergencies is recalled by the memory of unquenchable laughter at the Andover House breakfast table when Mr. Woods's eye met the headlines of the morning paper describing the flight of the Governor by the rear passages of the State House as a brave army of workless men marched up the hill to demonstrate their numbers, and were fortunately able to give sufficient reassurance of their pacific intentions to be received by His Excellency before the day was gone.

The corollaries of that winter's experience are to be found in the programs of work carried down into succeeding decades. The large solution of the tramp problem came in 1906 and rested on a policy finally carried to the State Legislature but indicated in Mr. Woods's report of 1894:

> As to the matter of aiding unattached homeless men, of whom there were so many last winter, we had no certain policy. Indeed, we do not see how there can be one until public authority shall provide a suitable work test. A special effort is now being made,

in which the House has had a share, to bring about some systematic method of dealing with tramps. . . . The plan proposed is that the Overseers of the Poor shall provide a work test for all that are sent to them, and then dispose of all found to be tramps so that they shall not return and prey upon the community. It is certain that in this way, with the coöperation of the Police Commission, a great improvement could be wrought.

Very soon opportunity arose for working out constructive measures for fundamental social requirements determining the broader phases of his service. The principles which guided him and the grounds of their conception are suggested in his summary of thirty years of the Settlement in the South End:

Most elementary of all Toynbee lessons was the necessity of organized charity. From the beginning we have been in working alliance with all that comes under that head. We emphasized, however, the necessity, first, of the elimination from out of the community equation of temporary or permanently helpless or dangerous types and, secondly, the application of the faculty of invention to measures for the prevention of poverty and degradation. These two motives were wrought deeply into the fabric of our purpose by all the experiences of the panic from 1893 to 1897, during which the very existence of the House was seriously imperilled.

Written on Christmas Eve, 1894

I thank you all three very heartily for the little Christmas hamper you sent me. The knife and the candy made the boyish ember glow again. . . .

There was once a young novice who was under the care of one of the mediæval saints. One night the youth determined that he would know what were the devotions of the holy man before he went to sleep, so he kept awake that he might learn. Naturally he expected to hear some wonderful burst of faith and aspiration. Hour after hour the old man read at his book, far into the night. At last he came to the end, and closed the book, saying simply, 'On the same terms, O Lord.'

Ever yours.

CHAPTER X

'NEVER GIVE UP'

Looking back on the year of stress, Mr. Woods saw it with its incentive to renewed enthusiasm: 'The opportunity which lies open before us has been but poorly improved, because we have all of us, the residents, the Council and the members of the Association hardly dreamed how great it is.'

A main work of necessity was to secure new sources of moral and financial support to take the place of the denominational backing which, already precarious, he now saw fading into the limbo of hard times. The treasurer said one day, 'Mr. Woods, you'd better close the House. I don't like to be connected with a bankrupt institution.' There was, perhaps, nothing more serviceable that he could have done than thus to rouse the pugnacity of the Head Resident.

Reënforcement to the resident staff was as much a necessity as funds in order to release time and thought for creating a financial backing. In this fortune was kind. In the spring of 1894, Mr. William I. Cole had become a member of the Rollins Street family.

It was altogether a happy arrangement for Mr. Woods; they had been at Andover Seminary at the same time and now worked at the common enterprise with a sympathetic outlook and a division of duties suggested by individual interests and abilities. Their associated names gave to the neighborhood a chance of exercising the natural epithet-bestowing prerogative; the boys called them 'The Fuel Brothers.' Perhaps that was the origin of one of Mr. Woods's favorite mottoes: 'Burn your own smoke!' As a matter of fact the boys were not far wrong; there was a real brotherhood of interest and affection between them and the combination of their qualities of mind fed the

flame which brought a rapid development of both settlement and community activities. With Mr. Cole's participation in the general direction of the affairs of the House, Mr. Woods was freer for out-reaching associations in matters of public interest where the South End had particular need of representation, into which, again, Mr. Cole and other men coming into residence could be drawn as the opportunities for service developed. On the other hand, Mr. Cole's personal and social connections, especially with musicians, brought a return current of great value in the upbuilding of the social life within the House itself for which he, like Mr. Woods, had a special gift.

A function to be developed necessary to the gaining of continuity of support was that of presenting a thorough knowledge of local conditions so as to put the case for the settlement with telling force. It was still impossible to undertake a systematic social investigation of the district such as the first plans for the Andover House had anticipated. Something, however, was being accomplished through the steady building-up of personal relationships for which the hundred and fifty boys, known well at the close of the second winter, was a substantial nucleus. To this rather specialized experience the young men of the House added some of the most successfully human-like visiting, and with it a vivid and sympathetic understanding of what life in the neighborhood was like. Of its most depressing facts Alvan Sanborn gave poignant account in published form. His tale of 'The Anatomy of a Tenement House Street' burned its record into heart and mind in a picture which it was the business of the settlement forever to obliterate before any thought of closing the doors could be tolerated. It is a 'garbage-strewn street' which he describes, where one hundred families live — four hundred and fifty people, to be exact. One meets there besides its residents, 'the well-dressed visitors of charitable societies, a charity picket line,' for a third of the families are hopelessly dependent and another third is at least on the list of the relieving agencies. 'A courtly member of the Street

Cleaning Department occasionally stalks through in the wake of the city garbage cart, selecting from the litter with the glance of a connoisseur such occasional pieces [of refuse] as seem consistent with his dignity.'

Death, desertion, accident, and prolonged illness, added to irregular employment, loss of work, and chronic intemperance, are responsible for need of help. The children have a 'desperate appearance, pale, dirty, undersized, infested with vermin, sickly and deformed,' but finding childhood happiness in street games and occasional more distant adventures.

A majority of the mothers work out to supplement earnings of their husbands or children, or the aid of charity. Few of the men make two dollars a day the year round, though some are skilled; many, however, are common laborers; to all of them the accidents of work come with a greater degree of frequency than among people of higher capacities. When the children begin to earn, they bring up the status of the family, but the parents place little insistence on the value of saving, since they themselves have never been able to do so. Whosesoever it may be, any considerable sum must be forfeited to the family exchequer. The leisure of the women, observable to the passer-by spent on doorstep or resting arms on window ledge, is borrowed from family cares through their indifference to household duties. They are often improvident, wasteful in cooking and in installment buying. 'Everybody drinks some' and the presence of three kitchen barrooms on the street, with the sanctioned saloon not far away, helps to make life hideous of a Saturday night, when pay envelopes come home.

Nevertheless, there are standards, from those of the woman who 'has stopped going without her stockings' to the observance of Sunday in personal appearance, when, 'by its pomp and circumstance, this little band of vulgar people is brought into conscious relation with nearly two thousand years of glory.' Social life is not wanting in daily gossip; helping in times of neighbors' trouble; in

benefit balls, raffles, the cheap theater with its moral melodrama, prize fights, ball games. The school, of which the children talk a great deal, membership in labor organizations and in benefit and insurance orders, together with ward politics, make up the list of the more serious interests.

There also one would have found, in the city of the greatest of the world's shoe markets, the barefoot ragamuffin along with the stockingless woman.

It was evident to the young men at No. 6 Rollins Street that the denizens of such purlieus not only freighted their own children with the possibilities of disaster, but pulled down the standards of more thrifty and self-respecting working people, with families to rear, who had to live in the same vicinity. Transportation facilities had not, at that date, begun to open the way to outlying districts for those who could afford greater privacy than a closely built tenement house locality affords. The upright and industrious workingman had often not only to live in close proximity to people economically and morally submerged, and to exercise rigid supervision over his young, but he suffered from being confused, by untutored and even charitable respectability of other quarters, with the depraved or deficient.

For, indeed, neither from the annals of great poverty nor from those of wealth is to be drawn the whole story of American life in the later nineteenth century. On the one hand, the varied detail of modern business was being wrought out of the initiative of young men and women of native stock, whose people could not afford to send them to college, who made their way to the cities. On the other, a young America was rising out of the hopes and ambitions of the immigrant home. An epic of family loyalty could be written of personal sacrifices made by the tired mother or by older brothers and sisters to make the most of, or to add to the father's pay envelope, that the opportunities of education might not be lost and that better living quarters might serve the needs of the family as children grew to maturity. Against the rising generation from foreign

parentage a strong prejudice existed which withheld from them associations that would have been an advantage to them and to the community. Only occasionally did young men of such family origin get a chance at business openings of the better class. In public schools the Yankee offspring pulled her skirts away from the contaminating contact of a 'Paddy' with eyes as blue and hair as fair as her own, and with a spirit sensitively alive to all that was good and beautiful in life. The daughter of Irish parents must take her record of excellence in school work, not to high school and college, but to the bargain counter of employment, and begin at fourteen as cash girl and so on through the list of blind-alley jobs. Night school served to keep the academic fires burning in many young minds. The burden of poverty is borne threefold by the rising generation: in restrictions on personal powers, in the care of the nearest of kin, in the vicarious sharing of down-at-heel living conditions to which the impotent pocketbook condemns.

For such a tragic tangle of need and repression with overwhelming circumstance no single specific of social amelioration could be conceived. It meant in settlement terms that the Head of the House must develop varied lines of connection by which directly and indirectly service to the district would be secured. Mr. Woods recognized the danger of losing the neighborhood function of the House if its residents were 'drawn out into a great variety of social reforms,' but the always challenging reminder made by the neighborhood helped to keep the focus true. So the chronicle of events shows from time to time a sudden transfer of attention from one outlying responsibility to another nearer to local advancement for which the moment was ripe for work.

The bottom task of finding money brought with it some encouragement. He fortunately had the gift for expressing his appreciation of the confidence of others and for recognizing their partnership as the following brief letter to Mr. Mark Howe attests:

My true thanks for your note about the work. I don't often get anything that sounds just that way. It has the faith in it, without which the work can only be vain and deadly. Two or three who *believe* count for more than the *interested* world.

Within the next year he was able to increase the membership of the supporting Association, drawing from the wider circle with which he now had acquaintance, so that it stood 'for a quality of moral support which is one of the most striking features of the whole undertaking.' Besides these reënforcements he had the satisfaction of taking an active part in the opening of the Elizabeth Peabody House in the West End and in welcoming into the South End district the residents of Hale House. At an informal conference of settlement workers in New York in this spring of 1895 there were found to be more than twenty-five settlements in the country. To Mr. Woods 'the great value of the conference was not so much in the reports of things achieved, of which there was no lack, as in the clear, common conviction of the high degree of reality which lies in the settlement idea and method, and in the assurance of success that comes from its constant spread and progress.'

The growing concern for social needs thus reflected was to find manifold expression. One of the earliest was a movement for the education of public opinion fostered by freedom of discussion and a willingness to learn from others. In Boston it was promoted at this time by the organization of the Twentieth Century Club, in which Mr. Woods joined forces with Edwin D. Mead and a like-minded group of men and women. Especially in the more concrete proposals taken up by the club, the men from Rollins Street were active participants. In such efforts they gave particular assistance in bringing to public attention the evil conditions of tenement housing in the city.

CHAPTER XI

INTERPRETING THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Mr. Woods continued for two or three years to devote an important measure of his time to the labor movement. His service was not alone that of interpreter, to other sections of society, of the purposes of trade unions and their place in the economic developments of the age. The close bond with labor men growing out of his associations with them during the panic winter enabled him to give a practical turn toward a better understanding across the dividing social chasm.

Several times at the request of unions he was appointed to arbitration committees for the settlement of wage disputes. The unions also sought him as a speaker on the broader aspects of the labor problem. In two successive seasons he gave the 'Lowell Free Lectures' at the Wells Memorial Institute, especially addressed to workingmen. In one series he set forth the historical background of economic thought, concluding with a discussion of 'Social Economics' and 'a criticism of social movements from the point of view of the general economic well-being.' Another series was devoted to the labor movement itself, in the course of which he discussed 'the intellectual and moral aims set before organized labor; the necessity of economic freedom and power in order to secure them; how economic gains act and react upon each other; value to the labor movement of all educational effort among working people.'

On the more strictly economic side he showed the organization of labor as a definite part of the organization of industry developing through a policy of conciliation and bringing about a new relation of labor to capital and to the public; 'it is leading toward a democratic coöperative form of industry.' The lessons of history were never far from his mind, and he pointed out, whenever opportunity

offered, that 'the great lesson of the Middle Ages is that, both in the interest of the workman and in the interest of national prosperity, there must be freedom. The nation which had the largest degree of freedom in the most definite and obvious ways profited by the measure of despotism which existed in other countries. Despotism means economic and industrial ruin.'

It was hoped that, as in England, such courses might lead to a comprehensive plan for University Extension, but it was soon apparent that the American workingmen were not yet ready in any numbers for the intellectual application which they required. Here was one of the foundation experiences for Mr. Woods in adjusting himself to the facts of the situation in the midst of which he found himself. He saw that public school education must be first adapted to industrially minded people to elicit their higher mental powers. This observation led into the same field as that of the adequate preparation for life of the boys and girls of the neighborhood, a subject which was to become very shortly a first claim on his attention.

Before more general audiences to which he had access he was among the first in the United States to put emphasis on a program of coöperation, which thirty years later is beginning to be practically applied to industry. Thus he gave constructive direction to a sympathetic consideration of labor problems:

> The workman who stands alone to-day is a relic of the past. . . . Trade unions make many blunders, but they have in them tremendous possibilities. The workingman of to-day lacks the instinctive workingman's enthusiasm. This is due to the lack of spiritual opportunity. . . . If he does not like his work, he can go elsewhere, but even this is limited, for a workingman who deserts one line of work, frequently finds other trades closed to him. . . . There has come a characteristic workingman's religion based on hope.

> The workman of the present age does not seem to have the joy of his work. The absence of this is so general that we look for some profound reason for it. The most that we expect of a work-

man now is that he should do his duty. The loss and waste which come from shiftless work is one of the great economic problems of the time. . . . The captain of a ship is the last to leave his vessel, the captain of an industry gets himself out whole first. Give us a captain of industry who feels like the captain of a ship, and we will have workmen aflame with devotion.

One of the duties of the workingman is to maintain the standard of life. The standard of life, the rate of wages are conditions on which depend not only the comfort of the family, but the honesty of the boy and the honor of the girl. For a workman to stand alone now is an anomaly. The only way the workman can maintain this standard and the rate of his wages is by organization.

Those who cannot be ranked in the workingman's class need to take a broader, more humane view. Christian people should aid these workingmen in all rightful and honorable means of self-protection. This is one of the main ways out of the social problem. Coöperation is needed among the workingmen themselves and enlarged educational facilities . . . it is the only way of running a democracy that is a democracy.

Suppose the employees become sharers in industry. Is it not true that by making the workman a sharer in the industry, by giving him a possessive interest in the work being done, it will be possible to make the industry more productive? Is it not possible to hope and believe our captains of industry will become true and faithful leaders of the people? The course of the great modern industrial system is going to lead into some higher form of organization, a form in which the workman will in some sense be a possessor of the means of production, a scheme of industrial coöperation which is not only a means of a greater development of industry but will conduce to the progress of civilization.

Setting forth the 'personal and social rights and duties of the employer and consumer with regard to the labor movement,' this picture of the socialized captain of industry was drawn:

The employer must in an increasingly democratic spirit seek to elicit the best productive initiative and the fullest coöperation with him on the part of his employees; on the other hand, he must secure the advantages of organization with other employ-

ers. He must apply economic and moral enterprise to the problem of maintaining and advancing his employees' standard of life.

The consumer must realize that in the last analysis he is the producer. He must direct his demands in such a way as to encourage all reasonable and hopeful efforts toward a better knowledge of the labor movement throughout the community as well as a better attitude on the part of labor men toward those whom they have not known before.

The function of the settlement as a common ground of meeting for representatives of different social groups was especially valuable just then for bringing industrial leaders and responsible citizens, and even occasional individual employers, into a general acquaintance. In thus introducing Boston to itself, as it were, the Andover House gave a setting to conferences that were at once intimate and impersonal. The memory of those who shared in these occasions holds still the recollection of the fairness and kindliness with which the courtesy of the Head Resident drew the fangs of class antagonisms. Though he did not talk very much himself, he was often able to give to the burning or halting utterance of another a clearer expression which, with the assent of the speaker, made possible a reconciliation of divergent views engendered by economic necessity on the one hand or by expediency and hesitancy on the other.

In speaking of this time, Miss Vida Scudder has said:

My thought loves to dwell on the many evenings when an eager group gathered around the dining table at Denison House to discuss all the great social issues which we saw perhaps more in the large and more from an idealist point of view than is possible to-day. Your husband was, of course, one of our leaders. We had also Harry Lloyd and Jack O'Sullivan to represent labor. . . . It was a vital group. . . . I know your husband always showed that luminous temperance of mind which characterized him to the end. He always could sympathize with the side of the question with which he did not agree.

Withal the earnest search for the true bearings of the facts was not compromised.

As Mr. Woods became involved in problems that more closely affected life in the South End district, where the percentage of trade-union members was small, he retrenched on the time at first devoted to the labor movement. A fairer attitude began to show itself; 'the friendly understanding which was reached in the beginning with conservative trade-union leaders was one of the influences through which Boston has had a greater measure of industrial peace than any other large city in the country.'

His knowledge of workingmen and their deeper motives grew out of these early associations. Without such a background of personal encounter the following paragraph could scarcely have been written:

> Every man's personal economic problem is inseparable from his problem of duty. His calling in life, his productive labor, his earnings, his power as a consumer, are matters which not only in their outcome but in their process must decisively and consciously determine much of his moral character. Every turning point in the course of the workman's life, particularly in these days of highly associated industry, involves critical problems of personal duty; in the breakdown of old loyalty to the master workman, the confusion as to the possibility of zeal for good work, the maintenance and advancement of standards of wages and of life, the organization of workmen to protect and enhance their interests in an industrial system where organization is the dominant force, the pervading scepticism as to the justice of the existing economic order and the claim of a great ill-defined, but well-nigh universal, outreaching toward a higher type of industrial civilization. These issues, which may seem to some of us to have to do only with the superficial environment of human life, are for vast numbers of men and women penetrating into the very bones and marrow of their personal being.

During this early period he continued to lecture at Andover Seminary dealing particularly with Social Ethics in relation to Culture, Religion and Industry. His main thesis was, however, 'The Conception of Social Value,' 'the new philosophy of the present century':

> This philosophy presenting mankind, and indeed the entire universe, as an organic unity, holds that the whole is something

more than the mere aggregation of the parts; that the relation existing between the parts is real and vital, and not a matter of accident or convenience. This philosophy is establishing and confirming on many different sides, the brotherhood of man; the fact that a kind of family bond holds all humanity together. . . . It will be seen at once how deeply such a philosophy must affect all theories about the organization of society. It comes as a strong confirmation of democracy. It is indeed more democratic than democracy itself.

By thus showing that society has a deep and vital organizing influence of its own, this philosophy does away with the conception of the state as being in any sense imposed upon society from without, or as having any closely defined lines across which public functions may not pass. It substitutes for the idea of rights, the idea of relationships. It denies that the individual has any rights, except as they subserve the true interests of society. . . . Conversely, it becomes to the interest of society to have each individual life secure its normal development. . . . Social democracy does not hold that all men must be kept at exactly the same stage of progress. It does hold that each man shall have constantly held out to him his fair and just opportunity.

It is necessary, therefore, that ethics, the science and art of human relationships, should be recast after the pattern of life as life to-day actually is. If it is true that no longer the subduing of nature, but the organizing and uplifting of humanity, is the business of this later day, then the science and art of human relationships must be no longer mainly negative and regulative. It must not confine itself to those more immediate bearings of the lives of men upon each other which were perhaps its sufficient concern in earlier and simpler periods. There must be an extension of ethical considerations out into all those newly developed and in some cases newly discovered, fields in which more and more the engagements of modern life are undertaken and wrought out.

CHAPTER XII

THE SOUTH END HOUSE: A DECISION

The settlement entered its fifth year under a new name and its council with a new president, Dr. George Hodges, who had left Pittsburgh to become Dean of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, and who brought his sound practical Social Christianity to the service of the whole community of Greater Boston. The personal friendship between him and Mr. Woods made him the natural successor to Dr. Tucker, whose increasing duties at Dartmouth withdrew him from an active share in his own original enterprise. The name 'South End House' released the work from 'certain restraints which the old name placed upon its natural progress' and made a more definite commitment to the principle of locality. It registered the terms under which Mr. Woods could choose to continue his connection. Misjudging the motive of the change, a Chicago acquaintance assumed that it was a step by which Mr. Woods meant to free himself and urged him to accept the editorship of a magazine there. Other suggestions of transferring the development of his career to the Mid-West metropolis had also come to him. The unassured future in Boston, however, already held some promise of enlarging opportunity; a possible chance of entering into the political affairs of the city had come his way.

A summer abroad intervened before his mind was wholly clear as to his next step:

South End House
6 Rollins Street
Boston *April* 12, 1896

Dear Howe:

Many thanks to you for sending me the memorial of your father. It is beautiful work. It has the longer and deeper breath in it. I am very glad you have had freedom in time and space so as to measure this experience in some of its full dimensions.

There are few who know death as simply the final touch in life. In your father's case this was all it could be. Your poems express this. I am glad there is no *resignation* in them.

Next Wednesday I go out west till May 1st and on May 16 I sail for Germany to be gone till Oct. 1st.

Sanborn is back again. When are you coming to see us?

Ever yours.

May 27, 1896

Dear Mother:

We are now passing through the English Channel with land on both sides. So I may safely say I am over the ocean. We arrive at Hamburg to-morrow morning.

The voyage has been a very pleasant one. I was sick for two or three days when it was somewhat rough. But all the rest of the time the water has been very smooth. . . . We have had the sun all the time. I can now understand something of the pleasure Father used to take in crossing the ocean. . . . It makes me a little homesick to go steaming past England.

With love to all,

Your loving Rob

Geneva, *Sept.* 3, 1896

Dear Mother:

I am now just leaving Switzerland. The western part which I have just seen is even more lovely than the eastern part. No description does justice to the Swiss lakes. We crossed four of them. On bright days they are almost heavenly. It is like a beautiful dream to be skimming over their clear water . . . Jungfrau is best seen from Interlaken, where it appears — all snow and ice — between the lower and nearer mountains that are covered with trees. The appearance of this great white peak against the dark background is something very striking. You look two or three times to make sure that you are really awake. . . . I have been looking around for signs of Calvin here but I can't find anything more than a street called after him. He is like other prophets perhaps.

Geneva is mainly made up of jewelry stores and is not so interesting a city as I thought it would be.

STEAMSHIP 'SERVIA'
October 3, 1896

MY DEAR HOOKER:

I had meant to send you a word or two from London about matters of interest, but you can easily imagine how two weeks in London slip away. I was more than ever impressed by the great metropolis. I spent most of my time in merely walking about the streets.

I was at Toynbee several times. I found your memory green. Aves, Kittle and Bruce are the only survivors of my time. Barnett was in Russia. Russia is getting to be a kind of Mecca for gentle, peace loving folk.

I was at Mansfield House twice. It is going on as usual — all very crude but wonderful too. The Oxford House far out-distances the others in distinctive settlement success. It has 33 residents.

I saw Keir Hardie. . . . I heard him address a large Independent Labor Party group at Holborn Town Hall. It was all very impressive. I never saw so fine a type of person going to make up a labor meeting. The singing was a stirring feature. One of Elliott's Corn Law Rhymes to the old Scotch tune 'Commonwealth,' I shall not soon forget.

The Trade Union Congress is thought this year to have touched bottom in its conservativism, and Keir Hardie thinks the inevitable reaction will come. He says the Congress was very dull and met with very little outside interest.

William Clarke is in very bad shape. He thinks the game is all up with him. He is still working away, however. Graham Wallas is coming over to lecture in Phila. this winter. He is not going to stay long because he has to get back to his beloved school board business. His book on Francis Place will be out about Easter. Judging from selections he read me, it will be highly interesting. The Webb's book is due about the same time. The first number of the Progressive Review was just announced as I came away. . . . I stayed with the Stapleys on Bloomsbury Square, and felt delightfully at home with them.

Now our steamer is headed straight for Boston . . . and putting aside a sea of troubles — (mal de mer) I am right glad to take up my arms again.

Boston, *Dec.* 23, 1896

Dear Howe:

Invincible idleness all summer long kept me from writing to you. (I didn't write, did I?) I appreciated your parting good wish just the same.

I returned to *the work* very much refreshed. You would be pleased to see how the stubbornly abstract quality is assuming shape and form, and even size — of which we don't want too much of course.

Do come and visit us this winter. We have a sky parlor ready and waiting for you.

We are getting some good help this winter from the Puritan Club set. James A. Lowell, C. B. Barnes and W. A. Dupee are all holding up our hands.

Nov. 1, 1896

Dear Hooker:

I was very glad to get your letter. I read with interest your scheme for a municipal institute. I don't see, though, how you can get at it directly. It would have to begin, I should think, in the work of two or three, who, while having plans in their minds for the municipality as a whole, would yet devote themselves closely to some one department. I have no question that, if you start in this way you will gradually draw to you others like-minded, and then the paper would come and finally the institute.

I think you have got to have first of all a certain body of keen personal interest in progressive municipal methods before you can soundly go on to crystallize even to the extent of a paper.

As I come back again the feeling has become quite strong upon me that I had better stay put. The first thing I have got to do is to get myself out of doing a lot of everything, and settle down to something definite. I don't think it would be wise, or even fair, to thrust my inner indefiniteness upon the outer indefiniteness of Chicago. Two years ago when I first talked of going to Chicago, I thought I knew exactly what I wanted to do. Now I am not so sure. I expect to have a talk with Tucker in a few days, and I may see ahead a little farther after that.

How good it will be to get this political misery over for the present.

Our bath house scheme is progressing. We have the land, and the plans have all been approved.

At the House we are starting out on a somewhat comprehensive social study of the South End district.

Miss Starr's visit was highly enjoyable, as it always is.

I sent you a report of the Board of Overseers showing the result of a policy which we forced them into.

Two things the educated man wishes to be sure of in deciding his life-work — he wishes to fill the place to which his particular talents are adapted; he desires to touch and affect what is vital in the life of his times. . . . Men have been patriots only through a great summoning of themselves so as to grasp with the moral imagination the immediate and prospective bearing of the facts which actually confronted them.

So ten years later, Robert Woods spoke in behalf of the new profession toward the realizing of which his own decision as to his future, made in 1896, had been a factor. He laid hold on little more than a possibility out of which a career was to be made by 'exhausting its possibilities.' So much of reality as was available as a basis for decision, he had himself largely produced on the same terms. Therefore the return after an absence of six months was to the place of his own making with something of achievement behind it.

The little group had got through the no man's land of a four years' financial depression, and had been able to dig itself in. . . . Direct and continuous personal interplay, through clubs and classes, parties and visiting, gradually won the confidence of not a few families here and there throughout the neighborhood.

If there were mists across the future, there were now also active affairs by which they were being dispelled. The neighbors made their claim; there was a project on foot with the city behind it to which his name was attached; he was beginning to know and be known in the contemporary life of Boston. Unconsciously, thinking himself detached, he had in reality acquired his citizenship; his home thenceforward was to be

at the heart of the great central working-class district of Boston, more and more given over to tenement houses and lodging-

houses, with a large factory section along the docks . . . more and more clearly having the marks of those vast isolated 'cities of the poor' which grow along with all great centers of population — showing the same monotonous round of working-class existence, varied here and there by aspects of glaring picturesqueness set over against a background of tragedy and despair. In this particular instance, organized vice has its haunts not far from the homes of honest poverty, adding a baneful source of evil and distress. . . . There were many strong, saving elements among the people themselves. And in nearly every neighborhood throughout the district there was some useful agency for social improvement.

Into every little corner of the neighborhood have been running quiet streams of influence from the House as a source. The return current of confidence and respect sets in now more and more distinctly. . . . The adult population of the neighborhood comes increasingly to the House, both in official and informal ways; and the settlement workers find themselves having more and more ties of friendly acquaintance among them. The neighbors come in with greater freedom, too, when they are in any sort of need or distress. The settlement is by this time one of the best established features of the local life.

It is not, however, our final object to center the life of the neighborhood about the settlement, but rather to discover and incite individual initiative and mutual aid among the people themselves. . . . Its chief educational aim is that the people should be trained, intellectually and morally, in that greatest influence of modern life, the power of association . . . and thus truly to rehabilitate personal, family and neighborhood life. The organized neighborhood work is wholly subordinated to this motive. . . .

. . . The club work is planned to supply both instruction and enjoyment, but its chief aim is to secure a personal and moral relationship between the leader and the members, and through them with the families and groups of families which they represent.

The South End House is more than its work. Its general influence is of considerable and growing importance. . . .

It is this wider horizon in which even the slight details of settlement work are wrought out that gives it the freedom and joy which is everywhere its distinction. The university settlement is in the best sense a laboratory — with fires of kindled sympathy

— whose results, though sometimes almost imponderable will have, as they begin to be applied at large, a far-reaching and ever increasing power.

Mr. Woods had seen from the outset the scope of the undertaking to which he had tentatively set his hand as 'a vast region of life which is not yet mapped out,' and had characterized the man who might enter into it:

> . . . He must not hurry. Above all, he must not be anxious about results . . . he must be content that the generations of the future shall see his work in its true light. This person, therefore, must have the historic sense and the philosophic breadth of view. He must love men, but deeper than all he must love humanity. He must come not only with a zeal for service, but with that eager, inquiring mind through which he shall be led into varied and constantly developing knowledge and power. Such effort should not be undertaken because it is interesting and commendable but because it is essential, if civilization is in any large degree to do its work for humanity.

Once we were walking in the woods where a stream came tumbling down through a stony thicket; its flow was impeded by a tangle of branches. We set ourselves the task of clearing the way, but soon I was warned off from sporadic efforts and became the silent observer. Mr. Woods was studying the impediment, seeing in it something in the nature of a structure. He proceeded to deal with it accordingly. There was no plunging at the mass, but a deliberate, skillful handling of the central entanglement. To me, it was very suggestive of the process of his mind in approaching social problems. Thus he saw in its beginnings the settlement as 'a sort of shaft sunk into the thickest part of society with a view of studying the various strata, and finding what their relation is, finding what the thickest part of life is, how life is lived among the most difficult conditions, among the most crowded collections of people.' Further, he saw that the time had come 'when the educated man and the educated woman must no longer merely shudder and turn away from the dark depths of life; searching investigation proceeds only by long and

loving acquaintance; science and sympathy must unite if we are to have any living knowledge of the poor.' Still, a measurement of values must be definitely established: 'To justify its existence the settlement movement must in due time present some substantial results in the way of understanding and bettering the conditions of life as regards poverty and labor.'

Life and work in a settlement falls naturally into the design of the wheel. The radiating activities would be confusing were they not organically related through the neighborhood which holds them to a unity of purpose. When Mr. Woods periodically said that he must get over doing a number of things and devote himself to the main object, what he needed was to have time to become absorbed for a while in the local atmosphere in which the settlement had its vital relations and through which the various outreaching lines that he was following could be seen bound together as a whole. This gave the desired assurance as to essential directions. He found that

> The work of the House has to do with that vast preponderance of working people who are not easily classified . . . and are not easily come at, . . . upon the basis of their necessities, on the one hand, or of their ambitions, on the other. The peculiar sphere of college settlements lies among this great middle class of labor. The best result of seven years' work in this little neighborhood is not merely in that more and more families are directly touched but in that there is a constantly more apparent return current of friendly understanding and confidence on the part of the neighborhood as a whole. This not only serves to give unusual naturalness and vitality to the direct work of the House in its own vicinity; but in the wider relations to the affairs of the district and of the city it tends to produce, instead of the spirit of abstract reform, that combined sympathy and realism which comes from daily coming and going 'in the thick of humanity.'

One of his associates years afterwards said:

> Upon the group of very young men and women looking to his leadership in the work of the House, . . . his philosophy, and the application of his philosophy to the City Wilderness in which he

placed himself, had an effect which I can only liken to old-fashioned conversion. I doubt if there was one of us, who did not at one moment or another 'see a great light,' and if the story of each of us could be followed up as we have scattered over the world during the past quarter of a century, I am inclined to think that not one could be found who has not held up the torch he lighted for us.

I suppose the positive good any one of us accomplished for the South End, in those first untrained, experimental years, is negligible; but what the Staff received from the Head, and what our changed viewpoints and ambitions have since counted for among those to whom at one time or another we have stood as Heads is unestimable.

And that brings my mind back to those early meetings of the staff, and the quarterly meetings of the Association, I think they were quarterly, at which each of us of the staff, resident and non-resident, were supposed to contribute from our experience. Some of those experience meetings were very funny, but not one of them was barren; for the Head of the House in his own talk that closed the conference would gather together and interpret our crudely expressed hopes, and transmute them into the gold of his own dreams. 'Oh, wise young judge, a Daniel come to judgment,' I once heard an elderly listener murmur, and the half-jesting words expressed the serious conviction that possessed our minds as we listened to the very young man who spoke. We were all young, but we had not known, until this one who seemed even younger than some of us, told us, that it was 'Very Heaven to be young,' that it was 'Bliss to live in such a dawn' as his vision showed the present moment to be.

But it was not all philosophy in those days, nor yet all poetry. There was prose aplenty for the Head of the House when he had to change housekeepers or select wall-papers, or decide what curtains would be best for the parlor windows of the original Rollins Street House. I think if you could portray a young bachelor who has suddenly inherited an establishment and a family of lively and obstreperous children you might suggest the situation Mr. Woods was in before the good day came in which Mr. Cole came to his relief, took over the burdens of the establishment and assumed at least a partial control of the big family.

The parties of those very early days remain with me as the most spontaneously gay experiences I ever had part in. . . . At Christmas, for years, we danced the Virginia reel and played bean

bags. . . . I don't believe any one who was present in the old days will ever forget tall Mr. Woods and the smallest girl reeling together; and I doubt if Mr. Woods himself ever experienced greater excitement than he felt as Head of the Line in bean bags. He could not play fair; he always ended by throwing bean bags, which is not the rule of the game.

On rarest occasions in later years, Mr. Woods would let the cat out of the bag as to his personal contribution in such festivities, and so we learned that he had a musical repertoire of two songs and that he could rise to a dramatic pitch on 'lancers, dances, quadrilles and reels and slides. I'll never forget that night, you can bet, that we danced at the Odd Fellows' Hall.' Once or twice, too, he gave himself away in the days of a house janitor by suddenly and quite automatically beginning to collect the folding chairs after a sit-down gathering.

The story-teller *par excellence* of the South End House goes on to speak of other personalities that gave character to the scenes and *contretemps* of that time:

Later John Whitman was our shining light in parties and indeed he shone on every doorstep in our parish. When I want to feel sure that the world is really a pretty good place, I think back to walks down Harrison Avenue with John Whitman. There was always Miss McCarty to meet on Harrison Avenue. I suppose she did go indoors sometimes, but I certainly can't think of the block near Canton Street without her figure. Miss McCarty was she who thanked God she 'warn't tied up to no sthupid hoodlum of a man.'

Ellen McCarty was she also who served in the interregnum of a housekeeper at 6 Rollins Street, and became caretaker and disciplinarian over the first clubrooms on Harrison Avenue. She was one of the old-time faithfulest of the Irish blood, who, though she could neither read nor write and conveyed all her meanings with the use of but the masculine third person pronoun, reporting to Mr. Cole that a picture of the 'Holy Mither' had been brought to the House, 'and, faith, I put "him" in the closet,' still had great respect for 'the quality' and education, and ap-

praised the lack of care of personal belongings on the part of Mr. Woods on the grounds that he was a 'gintleman.' But she had her suspicions even of these well-meaning young men, and appeared, at the beginning of one period of service, with her apron filled with empty maple-syrup bottles which, to one who did not read, were an ominous sight; holding them before the eyes of those who should know what was going on, she showed her product of the cellar, saying, 'Look at thim!' . . . And she was even more zealous for the behavior of man in her responsible capacity over the clubrooms and treated her sworn enemies, the maudlin loafers of the Avenue, when they held forth in front of the clubrooms, to dashes of cold water from the second-story window.

Such slight but very human happenings made the residents of the House the natural arbiters of village street-doings. So when asked one of the favorite questions of the day after a talk on settlements: 'Is it necessary for a resident to sleep and eat in the College Settlement House?' all sorts of little incidents must have flashed before Mr. Woods's mind to be summed up in: 'There is an indefinable influence in getting acquainted on the start and living among them.' But that was to leave the matter cold, and so by way of illustration for the unknowing, he answered further: 'There are certain disturbances which come in all crowded life, in the crowded quarter, which one who goes away at eight or nine o'clock cannot understand or influence. In Boston there is little disorder; but sometimes at midnight we have had to settle disturbances, which one who was not acquainted with the people, and living among them, could not have done.'

The real privileges of citizenship came of being in and of the local community, a fact of which the politician was thoroughly aware, and of important significance in any broad conception of disinterested municipal service.

CHAPTER XIII

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

It is not too much to say that even as a man cannot become an athlete by meditating on gymnastics, so he cannot become an effective patriot by the mere accumulation of information concerning public affairs, or of his good-will towards his fellow-men. To attain any valuable result, the man must persistently *act* for the good of his people.

... The best work of this nation is done ... in the lowest — should we not rather say highest — stages of governmental work, that of precincts or towns. ... That which controls the quality of its people.

Nathaniel S. Shaler: *The Citizen*

New interests came into the record of life at 6 Rollins Street with the passing of five years of residence there. The organization of the Massachusetts Consumers' League presented a step toward a responsible concern for industrial conditions on the part of the purchaser which Mr. Woods regarded as similar in importance to the organization of labor; it was part of the democratic process. He was an active participant in its development.

The main outreaching enterprises were in the field of city government. Experience by this time began to show that:

> The original residents of the South End House located themselves not in the midst of a group of recent and docile immigrants, but among those who were the rulers of the city. Almost from the beginning it was the policy of the House to work with local political leaders to develop a really human and 'square deal' local political platform. ... The settlement has tried to avoid the littleness of a merely local enterprise by maintaining an active interest in some of the larger undertakings of private philanthropy and municipal development affecting the city as a whole.

To Mr. Cole fell a share in the important question of more humane care for dependency by a thoroughgoing reorganization of city almshouses and the institutions for children, to the need of which Mrs. Fields and other philanthropists had been pointing for several years. Mr.

Woods gave his attention to the matter of a year-round public bathhouse.

They were of the generation which entered the arena of manhood as the arraignment of city government was being first read in Mr. James Bryce's 'American Commonwealth.' Their acquaintance with the municipality coincided with a tide which was stirring the stagnant waters of so-called respectable citizenship, with 'Municipal Reform' as its academic shibboleth. Beyond this the president of Harvard University pointed out that 'before municipal government can be set right in the United States, municipal service must be made a life career for intelligent, self-respecting young Americans.'

It was due to the third 'Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston,' that Mr. Woods had an opportunity to study the situation at first hand. He was soon aware that more was to be gained by providing a working conception of the purposes of city government than by merely 'turning the rascals out.' He was to find, however, that 'at first the remodeling of municipal administration toward the deliberate comprehensive rearing of a sounder, more stately mansion of humanity was looked at with a kind of wonder, not unmixed with apprehension,' by the patriotic American, who 'had begun to accustom himself to a kind of color blindness which simply excluded from attention the facts of the confused and apparently hopeless political situation in every large city of the United States.' The mental lassitude which made this condition possible was, as a matter of fact, a well-seasoned characteristic in respect to the detailed affairs of city housekeeping. The first Josiah Quincy had seen its prototype in the first years of the city administration of Boston, and its problems were still those of his great-grandson who took office in 1896. There was added the complication of a mixed and increasing population. A new measure had to be taken of the significance of the city.

Mr. Quincy went at his new duties with the constructive principle of the 'Extension of governmental functions,'

with 'such improvement and progress as would promote the physical and moral health of the community.' He adopted, out of the traditions and practice of Massachusetts coming down out of town-meeting days, the further principle that 'administration by unpaid commissions secures for the city government the services of a public-spirited and successful class of people who abroad are often elected to office, but who cannot often be elected here.' Among those whom he appointed were 'representatives of the University Settlements, of labor organizations and of women,' and he found that 'these unpaid commissions take great interest in their work and that the service has been very greatly improved by their efforts.'

In the beginning of his search for a mode of service, Mr. Woods had found the Central Labor Union advocating the establishment of all-the-year public baths. No more obvious need existed, as he first saw his adopted locality, than that of providing the means for personal cleanliness as a step to physical and moral stamina. For three years he had joined with the labor men in urging upon the City Council the use of certain available funds for an adequate bathhouse.

During the critical years of the financial depression, Josiah Quincy, as a member of the Massachusetts State Legislature, was one of the Committee on Labor, resulting in his being favorably known among trade-union leaders. Somewhat in advance of his first mayoralty campaign, Mr. Quincy asked a friend to arrange a meeting for him with Robert Woods. They lunched together at the St. Botolph Club, where the friend left them discussing the needs of the people of Boston. Later, Mr. Quincy dined at the South End House, where the consultation was continued, concluding, in the recollection of Mr. Cole, with a decision to make the establishment of public baths a significant part of the campaign program. The proposed plan was one of the promises of his letter accepting the nomination. Upon his election Mr. Woods received the following letter from the Mayor's office:

You are hereby requested to serve (without pay) as a member of a committee appointed by me to make a preliminary report, for use in recommending an appropriation to the City Council, upon the subject of establishing a municipal bath, to be kept open all the year around. I desire to have such a report cover the following questions, namely:

1. Whether such a bath should be absolutely free, or whether there should be a small charge?
2. Whether it should be designed for the use of both men and women?
3. Where it should be located?
4. What its capacity should be?
5. How it should be planned?
6. What will be its probable cost?

. . . The committee will consist at present of three members.

Mr. Woods was made chairman.

Inquiry showed nothing in the way of illuminating experience in either New York or Chicago which could be used in modeling the new public utility. There was as great a need of stimulating other cities to action, by working out the practical steps, as of providing serviceably for the people of Boston. Nothing could be more effectively to the purpose of building up the general well-being of city populations than to open the way for wholesome rivalry between the great industrial centers in such extensions of the municipal function. So when Chicago some years later pointed to its small park system and said to the visiting Bostonian, 'Can you beat it?' a gentle reminiscent grin on the part of one Woods recorded the kind of satisfaction that is beyond price. A first real public job had gone through successfully and its values were being 'in widest commonalty spread.'

The action of Mayor Quincy had been quickly followed by the City Council in making the necessary appropriation. Months passed and the building was not erected; criticism became active; publicity was achieved. Mr. Woods was fully alive to the value of the discussion. In the minds of the politician a bathhouse was a simple affair; you thought about it, got some money, and there you were.

But this new municipal venture was to speak to the citizens in terms of the humanity of their city and of the dignity of government as it touched personally the life of the common man. A momentous decision was made to use marble for the interior walls, durable and serviceable, no sham about it.

The committee reported to the Mayor:

> Great pains have been taken to provide a building that would not only stand the test of all sorts of practical demands, but would possess the dignity worthy a municipal enterprise.
>
> After continued careful consideration as to the administration of the baths, your committee again strongly recommend that the use of the baths be entirely free. It is the feeling of the committee that no other plan would be quite consistent in a city which provides such a park system and such a library system as Boston does. . . . The committee believes it would be unworthy of the city to make a charge which can be only a small fraction of the real cost, thus deceiving the people. We hold that it is far better — seeing that all the citizens are taxpayers, whether directly or indirectly — to have each citizen encouraged to feel that he is a joint owner in it. In this way the bathhouse will not only have its largest use in promoting the health of the city, but it will serve an important incidental function as do the parks and the Public Library, in stimulating a higher appreciation of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship.
>
> As to the risk of abuse of such freedom, we again fall back upon the experience of the city in administering the parks and the Public Library with its priceless treasures. And if it be held that the bathhouse is being provided for a special class in the city, it is equally true that certain facilities of the library and the park system — such as special divisions of the library, or the boulevards connecting the parks — are available only to a certain class in the community, and that often a small one.

There were here two references to prevalent conceptions that really grieved Mr. Woods. He felt the argument against the plan based on its being for a class rather than for the whole community the more acutely because shortly before a bridle path had been laid out in the Metropolitan Park System. It fell to him to try to show a lady

well known for her beneficences the fallacy of her reasoning against the use of taxes for free bathing facilities for those who, in her political economy, paid no taxes, by pointing out that every loaf of bread on the workingman's table, and everything else he purchased, carried in its cost to him a portion of the tax burden.

The Mayor expressed his approval of the plans and said:

> For a few hundred thousand dollars Boston could place herself ahead of any other American city in respect to making public provision for proper bathing facilities. I believe that such a policy would prove an enlightened one.

Soon after Mr. Woods's return from his season abroad came another communication from City Hall:

> As the plans of the South End bath are now completed, and can be utilized at least to a large extent for the planning of other similar baths, to be located in other sections of the city, I am anxious to have the question of the best locations for other baths taken up at once, with a view to endeavoring to obtain an appropriation early next year, for the erection of three or four additional baths, say in Charlestown, East Boston, South Boston and the North End. I therefore desire to ask your committee to investigate as soon as convenient, the question of the most suitable location for a bath in each of the four sections named . . .

The service thus started soon began to take on the form of a 'broad movement for constructive social hygiene.' With Thomas Lane, of East Boston, also a member of the committee, Mr. Woods found a rare partnership in working out plans for providing for the physical upbringing of the rising generation as part of a deliberate process to offset the disadvantages of city life. Mr. Lane proved both a warm-hearted friend and a man of unusual practical sagacity in whose solid virtues Mr. Woods found reward and justification for his optimism about men. It was like treating with the wisdom of the sage mingled with the astute understanding of the politician, to be able to discuss the chapters of daily experience with him, his senior in years and in service of human need. As a volunteer visitor

for the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, Mr. Lane augmented the knowledge of poverty which comes to an undertaker among working people. He knew both the humor and the pathos of life; he saw people in the time of mute heroism and was a witness of their weakness of will and of their subterfuges. 'In his quiet, earnest way, not untouched occasionally with righteous indignation, he had been preaching for many years that the public school buildings should be open for a variety of purposes in the evening. With Reverend W. T. Crocker, formerly of Saint Mary's Episcopal Church, he took the lead in securing the establishment of a gymnasium in East Boston which largely at his instance was afterward presented to the city, and became the first municipal gymnasium in this country.'

The success of the East Boston Gymnasium under private direction proved its case, but meant also a problem of adequate administration. Mr. Lane and Mr. Crocker, in consultation with Mr. Woods, agreed that it would be fair strategy to secure if possible the gift of the gymnasium building to the city. It was reasonable to assume that the people of other sections would expect the same service and would soon become actively interested in this new municipal function, once it could be established. The plan was therefore worked out with the coöperation of the public-spirited owner of the building.

They were fully justified in their anticipations. The new department created in 1898, of which Mr. Lane was the unpaid chairman, took charge of the All-Year Bath-house and the East Boston Gymnasium, as well as the fourteen summer bathing places which had been in existence for some years. In three years' time they had under their direction four more gymnasiums, one of which had been first opened by the Denison House Settlement and was now leased to the city. The direction of the North End Playground was also added to their duties.

A trail of adventure into the world where the citizen becomes the practical politician lay in following the fate of

the Franklin Fund; it provided a series of episodes not lacking in exciting situations and in incitement to a battle of wits which Mr. Woods thoroughly enjoyed. This sequence of events wore through several years, coming in the end to a conclusion found to-day in the splendid building of the Franklin Union on the Berkeley Street of the South End.

In order to make the story clear, it is necessary to remember that Boston was still governed by its town meeting up to 1820. Benjamin Franklin left a bequest for certain purposes for the people of Boston, making the Board of Selectmen and the two ministers of the oldest Episcopal and the oldest Presbyterian Churches the trustees. The fund was to mature for one hundred years. Its main intent was to supply tools and fees to impecunious young men desiring to take up apprenticeship in some trade. But in the course of the hundred years, the apprenticeship system had given way before the development of machinery, while modern municipal government had superseded the town and its selectmen. The Board of Aldermen had assumed the trusteeship of the Franklin Fund and the hundred years was up.

A small group of young men began to 'watch the step' of the aldermen, making also concrete suggestions justified by the fact that subordinate provisions of the bequest would permit some scope in the application of the money to meet existing conditions. It was in the light of this fact that the first proposals for a public bathhouse looked to its possible use. There was a building once a schoolhouse near the corner of Washington and Dover Streets belonging to the city and named after Benjamin Franklin. The art exhibitions introduced by the settlements were held there. That it was at the strategic center of the industrial interests of the city could not have been gainsaid. The conference of disinterested citizens worked out a plan to present to the Board of Aldermen by which a serviceable educational center for workingmen could be established by utilizing the Old Franklin Schoolhouse and the Franklin

Fund. Mr. Woods assumed the task of trying to secure the interest of the alderman from the South End.

For many years the district has been fortunate in having the political leadership of Mr. James Donovan. He had been a prime mover in the election of Josiah Quincy. Mr. Woods decided to seek Mr. Donovan's help in reaching the alderman and so came into the circle of acquaintance of this seasoned politician — the 'Honorable Jim,' as he was wont to refer to him with very real admiration. Mr. Donovan tells the story: To him appeared this earnest and very polite young man, with his proposition, as many another had before him, but with this novel feature that he was asking nothing for himself. The plan sounded well to Mr. Donovan; the city owned the site; there would be no expenditure from the Fund for land; the location was central. Mr. Woods asked his good offices with the alderman. 'You want this matter put to him, do you not?' said Mr. Donovan. 'Well, how would it be if we were to go together to see him? I will introduce you and you can lay the plan before him.' No doubt Mr. Woods was greatly pleased with this suggestion. So they set forth for City Hall together; Mr. Donovan, tall, vigorous, well-dressed, with a bearing of unaffected dignity and a fine Irish countenance, alert and quick of perception, well known for its irresistible smile; and the younger man, also tall, a ruddy, youthful, somewhat English-looking fellow, ready and able to follow the affable lead of the first citizen of his district. They found the alderman and stated their errand. Mr. Donovan stood by without saying much, letting Mr. Woods do the talking. The alderman looked sour and askance. He was not to be propitiated; he gave a snarling, unfriendly rejoinder and the two men left his office. As they got out, Mr. Woods made no comment. 'Well — what do you think he means to do?' asked Mr. Donovan. 'He didn't sound very promising,' replied Mr. Woods. 'He did not sound very polite, did he?' was the other's comment. 'No,' was the reply, 'not exactly.' 'I tell you,' said the leader, 'he was downright and uncommonly rude

to you! I'll tell you what we'll do — we'll defeat him; he comes up for reëlection next month; we'll defeat him!' 'And,' says Mr. Donovan, in telling the story, 'we did; here was a nice, well-mannered young man with an honest and practical suggestion. Why should he be treated like that? "Yes, sir" — I said, "we'll defeat him," and we did.'

Watching the Board of Aldermen in the interests of the Franklin Fund now became for some time a part of the day's work. Plans would be suggested, vague promises made; then nothing would happen. Finally in 1902 it was rumored that a purchase was going through of a site 'centrally located' to the whole city. It was known as 'Kelly's Ledge,' an out-of-the-way place in Roxbury, the center of the map and little else; a brazen deal of a boodle board. Quick action of some sort was needed, and as a last resort the friends of the Fund turned to the courts to pass upon the legal power of the aldermen. The court decided that they were not the legal successors of the selectmen, trustees under the Franklin will, and appointed others to serve. Perennial persistence won the day.

Coincident with these first adventures into municipal affairs, the study of social conditions in the lower section of the South End was at last seriously undertaken. It was an absorbing task for the group of residents during the two seasons of 1897 and 1898, and brought fresh incentive to their common life in the settlement.

Friends urged Mr. Woods to give himself to prophecy and let others investigate, but works, with an adequate method, were to him an indispensable part of faith. There were, however, periodically occasions for the preparation of addresses in addition to the many informal talks for which a few penciled notes were sufficient. Though he was not an eloquent speaker, he had his high moments and carried others with the quality of his own conviction. 'Everything he touches seems to be in the positive state. If I could tell you how my faith mounted as he talked — it was as if he had seen so deeply into the human heart that he had got past personalities,' was a contemporary comment.

The desire to give others the clue which he had found and to interpret the world of the day to younger men brought about the preparation at this time of a lecture given at Amherst College entitled 'The New Humanities.' Another treatment of the same general subject was called 'The Republic of Letters.' They embodied a social creed for the living in the current of one's own time:

Enthusiasm for the freedom of the human spirit . . . was the meaning of the renaissance.

Democracy is a philosophy including and unifying the various sides of life. It is ethics as well as politics.

Politeness and Urbanity are not sufficient to produce a historic new birth.

Intellectual democracy, a true republic of letters, a system of culture in which each man's talent will be his title to consideration and opportunity.

A better appreciation on the part of educated men of the human meaning of vast masses of life and the leavening of that life with the best results of modern intelligence and expert training.

Art is for man's sake — concrete man. It must determinedly extend its service to the common, average man.

The accumulations of knowledge exist that they may ever more exactly and more exhaustively enrich all men's minds.

How can the teacher instruct, the physician heal, the judge deal out equity, the clergyman advise and inspire, if the daily stress of life for the man in need, the issues with which man's mind and heart are straining are things unfamiliar or quite unknown.

The wisdom of the world is a social product.

Science that is not humanistic is unscientific. It is dull, pointless, half accomplished.

An ardent humanism, informing the interest and activities of culture, is one of the foremost means by which our confused civilization shall succeed in conquering and uplifting itself.

The true artist or the true scholar finds in the product of his work substance, quality, and virtue, for the healing and upbuilding of the spirits of men.

Democracy insists that every trained man shall make a more penetrating analysis as to the ultimate point and value of his work.

A new social sentiment gives public approval to the man who through his daily vocation of physician, lawyer, journalist, artisan, more and more widely serves the public welfare.

It must be the essential of the expert in public office that he know how ordinary people live and think, and what their actual needs and aspirations are.

The pessimist is the man with keen sensibilities for certain dark but often superficial aspects of life, without sympathetic experience of the inner and profounder meaning of the life which in his aloofness he critically observes.

The underlying facts about any human issue are as to the human nature involved.

It lies very largely with the educated young men whether popular stirrings shall work out their best results or their worst; shall develop a more enlightened form of democracy, or shall turn democracy down the road to materialism and anarchy.

Life meantime was not without its rewards quickening to faith. As he reviewed a year in which death came perilously near he wrote:

The general influence of the House is not less real because it evades analysis. No one has for any time kept at his task here without finding himself brought into a broader, more contemporary, more human point of view. From week-end to week-end all sorts and conditions of men come and go. Class barriers are broken through; religious prejudices are overcome; the inherited hatreds of nationality are diffused.

Coming in from outside, the sympathetic visitor found an infectious enthusiasm among the residents and an atmosphere that was very personal. But Mr. Woods did not approach others with any distinct and favorite argument. Without any indecision as to his own convictions, 'he had a current sympathy rather than a challenge in his approach which warmed for further interview. He furnished a mental hospitality to his interviewer as to a guest.'

The stream of local events each winter was freshened by incursions from the larger world:

DEAR HOWE:

I am glad to hear that you are again en ville. Can't you come over here to lunch on Friday and then go in the afternoon to hear Miss Addams at Trinity Chapel.

Also please come in Saturday evening, with all the settlement craft, to greet the gentle Jane.

DEAR HOWE:

I shall be here to lunch to-morrow but not on Wednesday or Thursday. Friday I shall be here. Come either day. After this week we must arrange for a 'block' of time together.

I am managing the gentle Jane and Graham Wallas (a fellow to know, — both of them are) this week.

Please come to the XX Century Club, 14 Ashburton Place, on Wednesday at 8 to hear Wallas and see Miss Addams.

In July of that year, Mr. Woods went off on a vacation and almost immediately on his return was taken ill with typhoid fever. It was a terrible illness from which his life was saved by the devotion of Dr. Charles Underhill, one of the members of the Opportunist Club. A little group of fellow-workers and neighbors, to whom his companionship had so quickly meant a more abundant life, watched together for news of the crisis. He suffered especially from deep depression, and as he became able would tax the doctor with quotations from the Book of Job, who would respond in kind as an additional part of his treatment. Financial rescue, likewise important, came from his brothers. Reminiscent of the time was a knowledge of the art of nursing for which he could give in after years explicit directions, so well did three nurses impart their training.

When the patient was being allowed an occasional visitor, Miss Starr, of Hull House, gathered, from the brief talk permitted, that the time had been not without its spiritual experience in a vision of the far country from which he had been turned back. In her mind his words left

a lasting impression significant as a reënforcement of belief in the continuity of life:

> For as my vision to more pureness came,
> Still more and more it passed within the rays
> Of that high, bright, self-verifying flame.
> Thence on far greater glory was my gaze
> Than speech can tell; at that transcendent sight,
> All memory fails and shrinks in blank amaze.
> As one who dreams in visions of the night,
> And when the dream is o'er, the sense imprest
> Remains, nor sees the mind aught else aright,
> So am I; for nigh all that vision blest
> Has passed away, and yet its bliss is felt,
> Distilling all its sweetness through my breast.
>
> *Il Paradiso*, XXXIII (Plumptre trans.)

A month of convalescence with Dr. and Mrs. Tucker in Hanover was always a happy recollection, after which he took up his work again to replenish a depleted treasury, to direct the scientific and literary sides of the settlement's activities, to represent it in its larger relations in the city.

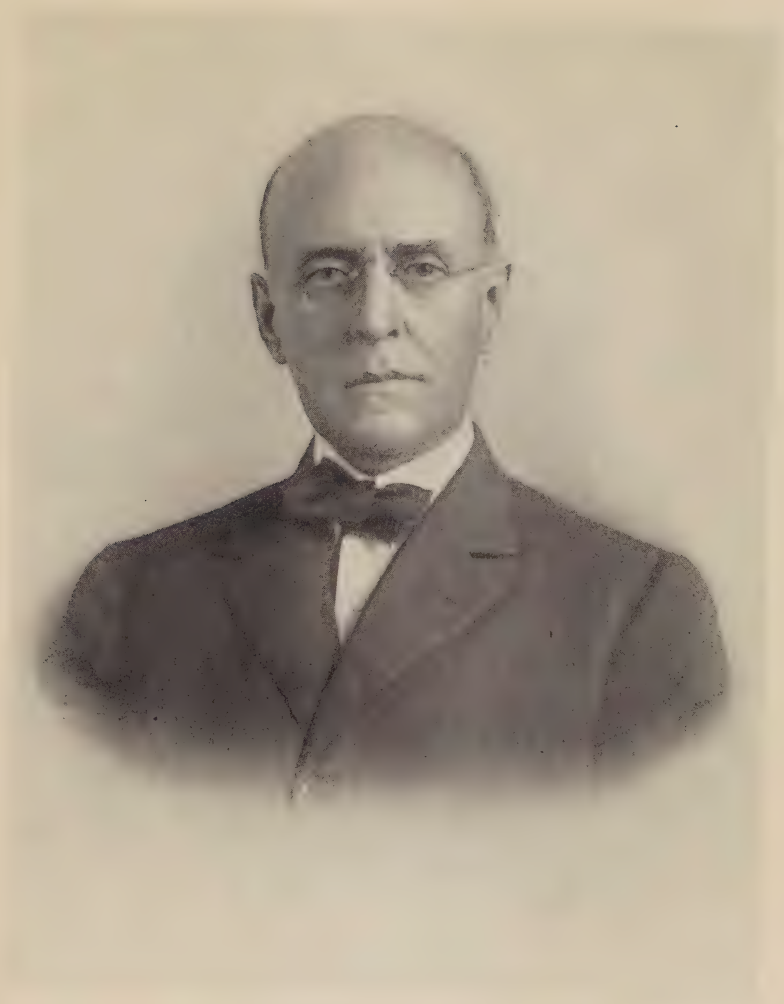
CHAPTER XIV

THE FIRST AMERICAN SURVEY

The first social survey of an American city drew its inspiration from the vast study of London in Charles Booth's 'Life and Labor of the People.' In striking contrast was the little volume of some three hundred pages, with half a dozen diagrams and maps, telling the tragedy of an area of not more than a half a square mile in the heart of Boston. There was some boldness in the venture which perforce trenched on the life of neighbors; it is noteworthy that it stirred but slight resentment.

It was to press the facts home to the average busy citizen that determined their presentation in a form as readable as possible. The objects in view were 'to remove the problem of the district beyond the region of surmise and place it upon a basis of known fact,' and beyond this to rally intelligent support for effective means of meeting such community needs as it would bring to light. It was to face the issue of the dark depths of misspent life; to make poverty itself objective regardless of particular individuals, avoiding the false claims of sentimental interest in 'the Poor' or 'the Fallen.' It was to press the logic of 'scientific charity' to meet the large aspects of the situation; to show the locality in its irresponsibility not as the product of its immediate population only, but as a part of the weakness of a great city. Mr. Woods epitomized the problem of the individual in a sentence which he often used in later days when some failure in initiative was cited, 'The curse of the poor man is his poverty.' In the closing chapter he discussed 'The Total Drift' of all the existing social forces with guarded optimism:

> A community of forty thousand souls is thus surrounded but not absorbed by a great city. Its life stands for toilsome monotony, rarely reaching distinction save in its tragedies. Yet there



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is much contentment, often too much. Existence has its joys and on occasion its gayeties. The young are happy and hopeful. The free spirit, however, is soon bound by the effects of unwholesome surroundings in childhood, joined with the cramping necessities of adult life. A few of the strong willed, together with some brilliant ones that meet with favoring fortune, contrive to triumph over obstacles. All too often these enterprising natures find themselves restricted to the choice between opportunity and rectitude. Weak and inactive natures, if they survive, are likely to relapse into some sort of degradation. The mass of the people is undoubtedly ascending inch by inch, in the economic and moral scale. . . . It is impressive and reassuring to find that under much of the home life of the district there is an impregnable rock of fundamental morality. The virtue of generosity and certain aspects of moral courage exist to a high degree.

The average person in such a situation certainly stands in constant need of quickening and uplifting influence; but the important issue does not lie there. A thousand schoolmasters and confessors, a thousand gentle ministrants, — all of the old order, — might alter many scattering lives, while the common life became steadily worse. The individual does not have in himself the main cause of difficulty. In the great majority of cases the trend of his physical and moral existence is practically determined for him by his outward conditions. The real trouble is that people here are from birth at the mercy of great social forces which move almost like the march of destiny.

The first step with a difficult equation is the elimination of certain factors. No civilized community undertakes to carry within its corporate life the criminal and the lunatic. The South End attempts to carry three equally dangerous types, — the confirmed pauper, the confirmed prostitute, the confirmed drunkard. It can only be a laggard social sense that would have it so. . . . So much of the social wreckage must be dredged out. Any other course with this class itself is hopeless; and it is blundering to confront the main issue without having thus cleared the way. Whatever may be said about other problems of the district, that of the treatment of its most degraded types is by no means an insoluble one. Half the reach of mind, application and resource that go into any of the city's great commercial enterprises would in reasonable time effectually settle it. . . .

It is impossible to suggest the sense of relief which would penetrate all the tenement-house neighborhood if the occasional

besotted husband and father were by merciful justice taken away. . . .

As to prostitution, the removal of the most abandoned types would mean at least so much clear gain to the district and to the individuals themselves most concerned . . . why should prostitution be confined to neighborhoods inhabited by working people? It is certainly as much loathed by tenement-house dwellers as by any class in the community. To a remarkable degree they keep their skirts untouched by it, though it is all around them. . . . No profound change can ever come until there is more of ethical idealism and a more heroic type of personal morality among respectable people of all classes. Prostitution does not propagate itself; it would quickly work its own destruction.

The different delinquent elements, happily, constitute a rather small fraction of the social inhabitants. The problem which makes the distinctive challenge of the district to the open mind is not that of moral degeneracy. It has to do only incidentally with the quality in a community that is morbid and pathological. It is not even the problem of poverty. Only one fourth of the people are in the strict sense poor. It is the problem of a virile, heterogeneous, undeveloped working population.

It is with such people that a more thorough-going system of education is most needed and is most pregnant with possibilities. Present opportunities are great in amount and variety, but are deficient in substantial value. . . . The total volume of effort toward softening and moralizing human nature, toward fitting men and women for useful occupation and good citizenship, is so great as to affect the larger social life. . . . This remarkable social result is not merely because of the complicated relations that go with the life of the district; it is because, more and more, all kinds of religious, educational and general philanthropic effort are done with a distinctly social purpose. . . . Only with the man's social bonds in mind can one come to terms with the complete personal life. . . .

To pass from such efforts, suggestive and promising as they are, to the various forms of independent organization that exist in the South End, is to come to what is often crude and blundering, like most human interests a tangle of good and evil, but what represents the common people developing their own native abilities and slowly waking to their overwhelming collective power. . . . There is an ethical tendency in the very fact of association. Whenever men meet together in a self-respecting way for

any legitimate purpose, they learn afresh, from their very attempt to work together, that the moral law is the only practical scheme of human intercourse. . . .

Relentless influences of evil break in upon the people. Unparalleled energies for good are striving to heal the breach. Infinitely more than both, able to carry them away before it, is the great central current that comes with the common life. . . . The overmastering forces which urge it on, like the tide and gravity, come from the world outside. They belong with the great city, with modern industry, with civilization.

Named 'The City Wilderness,' a title coined by Mr. M. A. DeWolfe Howe in describing the region, the book successfully made its way to the attention of those whom it sought to reach, and helped to put not only the South End House but other forms of social work on a surer basis with more nearly adequate support.

The study of the locality embodied in 'The City Wilderness' projected the work of the settlements afresh into the field of the student, and it was recognized as having 'reached dimensions such as make it quantitatively an important force.' Mr. Woods was asked, in consequence, to prepare for the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* an article which should have in mind the selected audience to which that publication especially appealed. He did not abandon his vigorous use of the concrete in presenting his case to these critical readers. Facing the issue of current criticism, he indicated that the way of escape from 'dilettantism, on the one side, and asceticism, on the other,' of which residents had been variously accused,

is not in fervent efforts based upon *a priori* conclusions, but in patient experimental action, guided by an acquaintance with the facts that is both extended and minute. The settlement undertakes to come objectively to the point of conscious needs and uppermost impulses of human nature with which it deals. It secures its vantage ground by establishing, in some sort, a home among other homes. . . . The residents are, in fact, upon the scene, are part of the scene, of the local drama of life. . . . The university settlements, facing the worst results of the industrial revolution, of a new migration, and of the unmanageable growth

of cities, may at first fill a strange variety of functions; but their deep and abiding use lies in direct effort toward scattering the social confusion and reëstablishing social order. In all this, while giving little or no formal instruction, they undertake through the medium of friendly intercourse to disseminate the inspiration that goes with the cultured life. Without set schemes of reform, they aim to permeate every sort of popular association with the leaven of devotion to the common welfare.

This new motive leaves aside the sentiments of pity and mercy, which have become outworn by the spread of democratic ideas. It challenges the restricted range of one's acquaintance and friendship. It calls for an extension of one's social intercourse so as to include men of a widely different way of life from one's own. It demands that this newly formed tie be solidified by so much actual identity of experience as may come to those who live under the same condition of locality . . . it sets forth in this type of rapprochement between the 'two nations' the practicability of allaying friction between classes and bringing about joint action between them in measures for the common good. In these ways the settlement scheme gives scope to a certain spirit of moral adventure, and even, in its larger light, carries a suggestion of statesmanship. . . . Settlement work is endless compromise. There is some consolation for this, however, in the fact that it is the rigid schemes of life, economic and ethical, that are responsible for the rift in society which, according to its power, the settlement would endeavor to close.

In outlining the large practical problem he gives a foretaste of the continuous program to which he was to devote his energies and through which, in coöperation with other forces, the life of the country was to be permeated:

The problem is that of developing a variety of institutional resources suited to the general needs of a working-class community — facilities for the systematic relief of distress, the removal of insanitary and degrading conditions, the care of neglected children, the provision of the means of cleanliness, physical exercise, and recreation, together with efforts toward a more widely available and a more realistic type of education.

Anticipating still another direction of his own efforts and of his ever-growing conviction as to the measure of work

to be done for the practical development of democracy, he estimates the need of one establishment of the kind to every ten thousand people.

> Settlements would thus not only go over the ground piecemeal, but could combine together for great general enterprises that would distinctly affect the life of the larger district and the city as a whole.

The scope of opportunity as he saw it, with his impression of society at the close of the nineteenth century, is set forth in still another paragraph of this article:

> In connection with politics, with religion, with the labor question, the settlement, using a great variety of means for obtaining its facts, is seeking by painstaking analysis, to discover what basis of mutual understanding and common interest there is between opposing parties. . . . At present, in all our large cities, employers and workmen, taxpayers and the mass of voters, Protestant and Catholic, stand in an attitude of armed neutrality toward each other. The settlement is an outpost for the discovery, by scientific method, of the next step toward social peace.

It was his privilege in the first quarter of the twentieth century to bring some measure of better understanding into the life of his own community and to take a place of leadership in working out an ascending scale of constructive social projects.

If he was criticized for his parochialism as against the advocacy of sweeping reforms which he did not support because of their *a priori* assumptions, in his view their impracticability, it was because he chose the parish or the neighborhood as the social unit into which the whole social structure must be factored and out of which in the development of its fullest possibilities with the free use of coöperation a democracy can be effectively built.

Nov. 21, 1899

Dear Mrs. Rutan:

I shall be very glad to sit at the remaining corner of heaven, and keep the bird from going hopety kick or thinking he is only

half boiled, on Thanksgiving day. I should like too to join the usual Thanksgiving theatre party — guests will please bring smelling salts — if dear Mrs. Fields doesn't ask me to come and carve for her.

As ever.

July 31, 1900

My dear Miss Dawes:

Is the privilege of duty also one of these sweets which we put by for the most capacious and appreciative mood? I have long wanted to thank you for your letter, and to say to you that like Frank A. Munsey and Napoleon we are not interested in what we have done but only in what we are going to do!

Does 'having arrived' make one feel that he doesn't any longer need to fight for existence but is at least privileged to existence by a sort of fee simple? I do have that feeling. I am afraid I have often been tempted by the 'seeming' which goes with having arrived; now the 'being,' the personal poise and calm which comes out of it, seems infinitely more.

I wish very much that you might come and see us in our developed state. We now have a 'sister' settlement where four young women live together in a delightful little house. We are to have from now on three graduate fellows appointed honoris causa by Harvard, Amherst, and Dartmouth who will be in residence with us each year, for the sake of the 'laboratory' advantages of the settlement. We have a remarkably successful municipal bathhouse and are soon to open a municipal gymnasium. All of which I fear you will not approve because it nods toward Socialism, but come and see and believe.

I am a little incoherent I fear because I have just got back within the prison walls after a vacation in the Adirondacks. This experience always makes me cross for a few days.

What a mad distraction is upon this old world, and did ever a century come to an end amid such a Pelion and Ossa of horrors!

I trust that the Dawes connection are nevertheless enjoying health and wealth.

CHAPTER XV

THE WIDER RANGE OF OPPORTUNITY

By 1900, Robert Woods had become a definite factor in the affairs of the city of Boston; his residence in the South End, with its conscious intention of 'observing carefully the varied and shifting life about him and going naturally into those larger phases of social conditions which can be appreciated only by taking the range of the city as a whole,' had brought him almost at once into first-hand touch with municipal methods, not as crystallized institutions, but as forces moulding human life, 'a process determining the upbringing of the young, capable of making or ruining the future of a people.' A conviction expressed at this time indicates the policy which he was to urge in his active participation in municipal matters.

> Settlement work stands for reform by identification and co-operation . . . opposition must be reduced to a minimum . . . this is essentially a policy of compromise . . . the settlement worker is always the possibilist. His steps are guided by the desire to come into fellowship with the people who happen to be about him, and not by doctrinaire standards or the abstract passion for perfection. . . . A settlement must give every possible hostage to fortune and must enter upon a constructive, statesmanlike policy for the district of which it aims to become more and more an integral and vital part. From this point of view it must distinctly be said that municipal reform which devotes itself to the correction of the methods of city government must nearly always be futile, because it is not so much the methods as the aims of government that vitally concern the masses of the citizens.

His acquaintance now broadened from the philanthropic group, to which he was naturally attached by his social work, into association with men in many different walks of life. He had met the politician and had not been daunted either from setting forth his iniquities nor in making friends with him when possible. For one thing Mr. Woods's posi-

tion on the Bath Commission made him a person to be respected, for was he not thereby himself a dispenser of city jobs? In a discussion about this time he is reported as having said:

> . . . 'that the only safe way for the reformer to approach politics was through the meadow and the plum thicket, always moving by slow stages and carrying a nice box of honey and a two quart can of raspberry jam as a peace offering.' He thought that the numerous attempts to knock down and drag out the politician or force him to do the bidding of some society had made the reform movement hated by the practical office-holders, and gained the scorn and derision of the rest of mankind. Members of social settlements he likened to ambassadors from one kind of people to another kind. It was their duty to get together on some middle ground, and when this was accomplished the political boss, who was always anxious to be on the popular side, would give them clean streets, public baths, numerous parks, vacation schools and everything they asked for. He added that it was worth while to join hands with the politicians in a nice genteel sort of way, and, keeping as much out of the mire as possible, try to get a little something for the people that would tend to make them cleaner and better.

The newspaper editorial from which this quotation is taken concludes by saying, 'there is no man with clearer nor more feasible ideas, and no safer man for sincere reformers to follow.' The intercourse with Thomas Lane gave strength to the conviction, which 'he sturdily held and decisively proved — what for most of us had to be proved — that practical reform and practical politics are not wholly and necessarily antagonistic.'

Furthermore, their common work for the city was beginning to show results; a statistical study made by Mr. John Koren, for the decade during which these new types of work had come into existence, showed a decrease in the number of juvenile arrests of from twelve to twenty per cent.

They had, meantime, to meet the economy fetish of a good 'business' administration of the Mayor's office which

succeeded in dislodging Mr. Quincy and his political support. They pointed out that the relative values in the statistics of attendance and cost of administration would compare favorably with any other department, and that:

> The true test is not as to the amount laid out, but as to the public profit. . . . The value of the returns far outweighs the comparatively small cost of carrying on the work of the department. Besides the large amount of healthy recreation which the baths and gymnasia afford, the reports of the Athletic and Medical Directors will suggest that such work, if done upon a sufficiently ample scale, will effect a noticeable saving in the demand upon the various City institutions, for the helpless poor, the sick, the disorderly and criminal. To look at the matter still more deeply a comprehensive scheme of agencies covering the city and designed to protect and enhance the health and vigor of the rising generation, will mean a considerable increase in the intelligence and productive capacity of the people. Such enterprise is, indeed, quite as important to the economic and industrial progress of the population of the City as is the encouragement of manufacturing and commerce by the improvement of railroad terminals or by the widening and deepening of the harbor.

It was one of Josiah Quincy's contributions to the direction of municipal affairs that he provided an opportunity for the business interests to participate through an advisory merchants' municipal committee. 'The Merchants' Association had previously thought it "no use" to take an interest.' But there were large problems of city development that did not come under the control of the Mayor's office and which required at that time pioneer zeal and devotion. With a small group of men so imbued, Mr. Woods became a participant in the fight for the protection of public rights against corporation greed which secured to the people the Boston Subway and established the precedents which finally created the Public Utilities Commission of the State. This 'Public Franchise League,' which included in its membership Louis Brandeis, E. A. Filene, Lawrence Minot, B. F. Keith, Dr. Morton Prince, George G. Upham, E. R. Warren, James R. Carter, Andrew G.

Webster, Robert Treat Paine, Jr., Charles M. Cox, and Edward Adler, was able, by quiet but untiring endeavors for fair business relations between the public and the public service corporations, to secure outstanding results in the days when public sentiment was scarcely formed in such matters. 'In urging forward these timely and realistic forms of public action,' says Mr. Woods, 'the one great and almost insuperable obstacle in the early stages was that the elected representatives of the people so largely went counter to measures which were so specifically for the working people's advantage and welfare.'

It was by no means the active pressure of a South End constituency which led him to engage in such a far-seeing program of public transportation as would make for new and better localities both for living and work, an outlet for the more enterprising among working people. The extension of neighborhood responsibility out into this large sphere of action was important as an educational program for people who might be made to think on the basis of a practical demonstration of good government, as is often the case with those who have not the imaginative faculty to grasp a possibility without some leading experience. 'Long study of the local neighborhood shows its dominant note to be clearly one of irresponsibility. Nobody cares for what is merely of social consequence,' was a piece of evidence that showed how far down the scale the education for democracy had to begin. But it was not merely in the poorer localities that he saw this to be true:

> Year after year those who represented the city's inheritance of public spirit, led an existence in which the sense of local citizenship, as an active force, was practically left out. The situation came to be generally accepted as hopelessly baffling, and was even considered as a sort of unconscionable comedy. The exception to this strange attitude was found in the matter of the public schools.

Throughout the early years, Mr. Woods had repeatedly emphasized the phase of the settlement worker's program which relied, not on added social machinery, but upon re-

enforcing with personal service existing social agencies. The fresh inventiveness which he brought to such coöperation led him to see that there was possible a broader achievement on another plane of action which would greatly advance the common cause in the main purpose of service for the needs of poorer people. With maturing assurance he undertook to put the federal principle to work, even for the small undertakings of one section of the city, by 'getting all the hopeful forces into association to take up the task of securing joint action for large results.' The South End Social Union thus formed was not merely a conference for the sake of an exchange of ideas and information. A danger which he was thereafter constantly seeking to avoid lay in discussion that did not develop a plan of action. It was for the greater weight of varied experience and mutual reënforcements that could be serviceably brought to bear upon a given problem that he led the way into the coöperator's program of federation among the settlements.

Expectations of resourceful help from the South End House fellowships were in some measure realized. Several able young men came into residence by that means to whom, especially in the wider ranges of opportunity, his guidance was of value. They gave him great satisfaction, but the closer coöperation with the seats of learning which would have made the arrangement still more effective sparingly developed. Mr. Woods himself raised the money for the Amherst and Harvard fellowships.

A departure and a development came with the 'sister settlement' which soon assumed the rôle of 'women's residence of the South End House.' The masculine aloofness of 6 Rollins Street was to be still further disturbed by matrimonial enterprise. Meantime, the last year of the first decade of the settlement was bringing Mr. Woods's mind into a fresh focus as to methods of work and time values. From then on he saw that in social work the reasonable time unit in which to gauge results is the ten year period. What in the start he consciously sought not to look for, re-

sults, and not to be discouraged about, the persistence of misery, as he sometimes told inquiring friends, now often surprised him. It could be sensed that hope and cheer had something more of energy with which to serve the growing life of the neighborhood. The enrichment of opportunity, however slight, which had been brought was beginning to count.

South End House, *Jan.* 7, 1901

My dear Miss Dawes:

Many thanks for your New Year's greeting which I very heartily reciprocate.

Park St. Steeple is a sort of warning finger to one who occasionally strays forth far from the paths of orthodoxy. But what a pity we couldn't be of the very closely impending future and forget that there is orthodoxy and heresy. There is an undefinable Christian *quality* in life, and that is enough, and if anyone hasn't it, let's keep him within the fold till he catches it.

I hope you will give me the pleasure ere long of showing you some of the new developments in 'the work.' I am always a little anxious about your soul, not regarding you as soundly saved yet to settlement faith.

With all good wishes to all of the Dawes family, I am faithfully yours.

South End House, *June* 23, 1901

My dear Miss Dawes:

When I wrote you I was giving a course of lectures at Dartmouth on Municipal Government. I spent the month of May there, and saw the whole of Act I in the drama of the progressing year. There is a great deal of tonic in the life of the college under Pres. Tucker.

The subject was a new one for me so far as theoretical treatment was concerned, but I have had a large amount of practical experience of the matter.

We are all feeling intensely grateful to Gov. Crane for rescuing Boston from the choking grip of the Elevated Road. He has placed himself in the very first rank of Massachusetts Governors.

The House is prospering unusually well. We have a women's residence now, and it is a valuable reinforcement. We have also begun to get some very fine young fellows direct from the colleges. We are now entering upon a plan for a new building, in

connection with which we expect to introduce a good deal of new work.

At the present moment I am engaged upon two lectures for the Harvard Summer School of Theology. One is to be on settlement work and offers no difficulties. The other is on the Social Problem of the Ministry in the City, and it is somewhat embarrassing for a layman to give a concio ad clerum even though he may think he has something to say to the clergy.

Next after this job comes Vol. II of the City Wilderness. We have a very good corps of writers. It includes four women, and they are doing admirable work. This volume will deal with the North and West Ends. . . .

I regret to say that we had a row with —— a while ago over a study of the saloon in Boston. He proposed to absorb and have done with our material; to which for the sake of justice and his own good we absolutely refused to consent. Some candid friend ought to present him with a copy of Anthony Hope's 'The God in the Car.'

We have always regretted that —— went in for theological scholarship. It seems as if he ought to have a more vital career.

I think you have met the Perrines. He is a very interesting man. I count him one of my best friends.

PERKINS STREET
JAMAICA PLAIN
Oct. 3, 1901

MY DEAR MR. WOODS,

. . . I am glad that your heart warms to 'the Training School for Social Workers' — I hope that your active life will leave you time to come to many of the meetings for we want and need all possible coöperation, suggestion and inspiration.

It will take several years to make it worthy of its name. Beginnings are slow — if only we begin well — I shall not mind how small our beginnings are. . . . I congratulate you on having a new house for your classes, etc.

Yours most truly
PAULINE A. SHAW

In the summer of 1901 I was completing four years of work with the Associated Charities of Boston (Family Welfare Society). This had meant nine months of train-

ing, the first plan for systematic preparation for social work to be offered except that of graduate study and work embodied in Dr. Tucker's plan for the Andover House. Following upon the period of supervised investigation of needy cases which constituted the educational program, I had organized a new district for the society bordering on the region in which the South End House was situated. This meant that I was already familiar with an important phase of the life of the South End when I went there to live in 1902. Meantime, I had been transferred to South Boston to bring the work of the Associated Charities there up to the new standards. This section of the city is a peninsula, cut off from the main part of the town by a long arm of Boston Harbor over which stretch three bridges from the South End and the South Cove. It was one of Mr. Woods's whimsical observations that the imagination of Boston could not cross water. In the year that I was there only the sense of responsibility had begun to travel its dreary approaches and that within the limits of the capacity of one person. Nor had its more resourceful local residents awakened to the extent of its poverty and vice so generally regarded as a part of the normal social order.

A vicious circle of tuberculosis and drunkenness centered in miserable houses built of wood, and undermined the health and integrity of the young. There was scarcely any recreational resource. The multiple assortment of drinking-places, the sordidness of the lower section of the district extending out to desolate unbuilt flats along the harbor, gave to the task of 'scientific charity' a hopeless setting, with no hand held out to do more than the day's work in relieving acute need.

In four years one had learned to recognize obvious causes of poverty with a certain ease and to know that more than 'relief,' more than 'friendly visiting,' or the dispensary doctor, the instructive nurse, or institutional care, were needed to lift the whole situation to a level of some sort of successful issue. There was no future in pal-

liative measures, only a dreary overspending of energy to little purpose.

A determination to give it up was welcomed by an insistent mother, but there was a little hope that some further responsibility for the district might be awakened if another kind of appeal were made, and so a letter to one of the directors of the Associated Charities, Mr. Robert A. Woods, the Head of the South End House, was sent on my own initiative, urging the need of boys' clubs and an investigation of the conditions of housing.

The upshot of this was that in a year's time Mr. Woods and I were married. A slight acquaintance in my first district had alone anticipated the unexpected turn of events by which we were engaged at the beginning of 1902. The story of that year is written in letters to me while I was spending the winter in New York.

New York City, *Oct.* 28, 1901

Dear Mr. Woods:

I fancy Miss Smith (Miss Zilpha Smith, secretary of the Assc. Charities) will be detecting the heresies of her departed agent before very long, in her talks with you. I should feel guilty, did I not know that they were originally your own as well as mine.

One day last summer she said to me: 'Have you been talking to Mr. Woods lately about having district superintendents, when did you talk with him last and what did you say?' To which I replied that as far as memory served me I had not talked with you on any subject more than once and that must have been at least a year and a half ago. For the life of me I could not recall anything that I had said. Imagine being expected to remember and being held accountable for a conversation a year and a half old! I only recalled that it was a pleasant occasion and that Mrs. Mulcahy's mother came in for a pair of shoes and insisted on taking her shoes off—and that I was much embarrassed and a great deal pleasanter to Mrs. Mulcahy's mother than the occasion required. . . .

Sincerely yours

Eleanor H. Bush

South End House
20 Union Park
Dec. 13, 1901

My dear Miss Bush:

If belief in you on my part can give you comfort you will find that you have an inexhaustible supply to draw upon. . . . You are much the same to every one, but I am going to believe that I am in some little degree primus inter pares in benefits received.

Life is quite eventful here just now and I find myself wanting to tell you about things as they occur. In the first place we have had positive though confidential assurance that the House is down for $25,000 . . . to form the nucleus of a permanent endowment. This is a terrible secret! . . . I don't know whether I told you that we have secured the 'ideal man' for architect of our new building . . . He is keenly interested in the building and is going to deduct one half of his commission. As the builder is going to make a deep cut in his commission, and as Mr. D—— who did everything in connection with the purchase of the property, charged nothing and actually contributed the commission which he collected from the seller, the whole enterprise is distinctly a labor of love.

You probably noticed that Collins was elected mayor. That means that I, along with many of 'the boys,' will go back into politics again. Mr. Lane and I were the chief advisers of Mayor Quincy in all his social schemes. We two, (Lane and I) are going to meet tonight to lay our plans for a campaign for more baths, gymnasiums, playgrounds and the Franklin Institute. You can hardly imagine how fascinating this human sort of politics is. . . .

South End House
Dec. 13, 1901

Dear Hooker (living at Hull House):

I hope that when you come east on your proposed trip you will save out a couple of weeks for Boston. . . .

Well I am in politics again! Josiah is vindicated, and he is going to be quite a power behind the throne, while the Hon. Jim stands out solus and alone as the Warwick.

Brother Lane and I are to confer this evening about a plan of campaign for more baths, gymnasiums, playgrounds and for the Franklin Institute.

Through the interregnum I have been paying a lot of attention

to the South End House. We have bought a much better place for a residence. We are going to build a new neighborhood guild house on Harrison Ave., to cost $35,000 and we have the promise of $25,000 as the nucleus of an endowment.

I prefer politics though to money-changing. There is no game like it.

With my affectionate and seasonable regards to the chief sisters, I am ever yours.

Dec. 23, 1901

My dear Miss Bush:

I am afraid it is all true, for even when you must needs scold you do it so delightfully as to make the process a special unique privilege. I have for a long time greatly needed some one to scold me. I wish you would take me in hand.

Of course I agree with you entirely. But I am so prone to having beloved aversions that it is truly restful and refreshing to find you vibrating within a sound and just range in your likes and dislikes. One of the things I liked in you right off was the very interesting and realistic perspective in which you had the people of your play set.

People to whom things are 'nor great nor small' and who love everybody, always irritate me. The only time I ever saw Miss Addams show signs of impatience was when some one said to her, 'Oh, you like everybody.'

At the same time, dear Miss Bush, you treat everybody with kindness, as your trying to remember when you hadn't, proves.

I am enclosing some circulars about the School of Social Workers. It is small yet and thus far is intended for Back Bay girls who wish to do club work. It is going to grow, though, and has an interesting future. I am one of a sub-committee of five which is to select the head.

I was told in Baltimore confidentially that Miss Brown was going to leave the C.O.S.; and you were among the ones most favorably mentioned for the vacancy.

I think you would be a treasure in either place, but if I were Fate I wouldn't let you do either thing—not being disinterested.

I am glad you suggested the Athens Street houses. I will try and get the Twentieth Century Club after them.

We are already in the rush of Christmas parties. There are to

be eight or ten Christmas trees on Christmas Eve in the tenement houses, the children of three or four families coming to each.

On New Year's Eve we are going to have a grand housewarming for the Harrison Ave. people. It promises to be an imposing affair. I am going to make the first announcement about the new building at that time.

I shall be very glad to go with you to hear Josef Hofmann. And I shall enjoy going to Staten Island with you — very much.

But I am always wanting more. I want to come and talk with you, not by vague signals thrown on the screen of outer facts, but face to face and out of the depths.

Yours most truly.

The growth of the settlement activities had justified a location more accessible to the whole of the district; Rollins Street was more and more out of the currents of local life, and, with the unfortunate advent of the Elevated Railway on Washington Street, had become little more than a noisy pocket. So it happened with the passing of 1901 that changes in his mode of living and in the setting of his working career were part of an eventful rising tide for Mr. Woods.

The men's residence had been transferred from Rollins Street to 20 Union Park in the autumn. Here a combined house warming and New Year's Eve party brought to a close the first decade of the House.

One who was present on this occasion wrote:

As I came down the stairs and entered the high-studded, dignified drawing-room, I felt I was in a dream, a panorama of the past ten years. The rooms were rather crowded and I seemed to know every one of those pathetic toil-worn, beaming people. There were about one hundred and fifty men and women actually representative of the existence of the settlement, a company of simple souls made happier by this warm human brotherhood manifestation. Before they left, Mr. Woods stood up in their midst and told them of the new house that was to be theirs. I wish you might have seen him and I wish you might have seen the eager faces turned toward him. The earnest simplicity of the people's faces was absolutely in accord with the simplicity and sincerity of Robert's words and bearing.

The party is still remembered by veterans of the South End House constituency. It was their first great occasion in the new residence at 20 Union Park. The throng of neighbors and the excellence of the refreshments lingered in the memory of some of the participants for over twenty years.

CHAPTER XVI

OPENING OF THE SECOND DECADE

My mother had scarcely known Mr. Woods before our engagement, nor was she familiar with his reputation, which even in college days had reached my ears. We heard of him then as a representative of modern chivalry of whom it could be said with critical judgment, 'Robert Woods is a rare cross between a good fellow and a saint.' For her enlightenment and comfort Dean Hodges wrote:

> I have known Robert Woods for nearly twenty years . . . Since I have been in Cambridge — now eight years — I have seen Mr. Woods continually and have had every opportunity to know him and his work. . . . Also for a number of years he has been a lecturer at the Theological School, coming to lunch with me every week during his term of service. I can say with some intelligence after all this that Mr. Woods is one of the best men I have ever known. . . . It is, indeed, remarkable that coming here as he did unknown, he has made for himself such a place in the esteem of the best citizens. He is to-day one of the strongest influences for good in the city of Boston. . . . He is, moreover, with all these public virtues, a most courteous gentleman, considerate, self-effacing, with a sense of humor and a cheerful disposition, a true friend. I am sure he will make your daughter unfailingly and increasingly happy.

While my mother saw marriage as a defeat of her desire for a career for her only daughter, our interested friends and relatives hailed a romantic ending to a dreary life pursuit of 'harassing the poor,' and acclaimed and adopted Mr. Woods forthwith.

The profound common interest in the nature of his growing opportunities staked securely in the settlement way of approach was an assurance of happiness to be accepted unhesitatingly. Though he was a shade lacking in sympathy for the 'careering' woman, he offered to his wife her own very real career. More than that, in spite of the fact that

we were both in dead earnest, we shared the faculty of being sympathetically entertained by the common events of life. The sense of humor so often referred to as an important aspect of his character, was always ready to respond or to take the lead when, for the moment, serious concerns could be set aside.

South End House
Jan. 2, 1902

Don't feel proud of me yet, little girl. We are only on the threshold. I have been fighting for the start not in the world, but of the world, 'of the majestic world.' Far back in my earliest purpose a kind of prophetic vision of you appeared upon the height which I was constrained to reach. Now I have reached you and you are mine — and life begins —

I hope your mother will be better and I hope she will come to see things clearly and even to share some of our happiness.

I am always glad when people like me, but I don't care a fig for most of the public applause that one gets. I regard it nearly all as belonging to a sort of mythical playmate. So I value the liking of your friends for plain private me very much.

I am going to make a confession. Men are savages. They don't really respect women's minds. I don't think I ever, way down to the bottom, respected a woman's mind until my mind touched yours. When I went to Camden St. to trump up an acquaintance with you I knew in sixty seconds that I could not help but utterly trust and rely upon you. . . . I was never brought up with girls, and have spent more than half my life in barracks — awful — and so you'll have to be both sister and sweetheart to me.

P.S. The New Year's Eve party was a perfectly splendid success.

I am conscious that there is an inexhaustible mine of life and love which we are to open up together. Words fall so far short. Even feeling deep and far as it may go, comes to a stop in the presence of realms of feeling still undiscovered. . . . I have had a busy and tiresome day — the kind which makes me long for that little home of ours. Once more to-day I had the experience of hearing Miss Eleanor Bush recommended and praised. . . . I sat there tongue-tied and having queer shivers but saying inwardly, 'You can't have her, she's mine.' I finally shunted things off

before they asked for my opinion. I shall have some fun writing these people in a few days.

I suppose you will give me in your next letter some notion as to the next step in our happy progress. I am going to see Pres. Tucker on Tuesday and I *must* tell him. I have already intimated to him that there is news coming. He has been a spiritual father to me. He always calls me 'my boy.'

BOSTON, *Jan.* 14, 1902

. . . I had a warm reception on my arrival and there is a pile of letters about a foot high on my desk. One is addressed to you — Uncle Sam recognizes us as a unit. Enter S.E.H. and down I go — all that's here of me.

BOSTON

MY DEAR GODDESS MINERVA — I don't love you any the less because you spell 'imaginary' like 'millinery' — more if possible!

I won't make the pedestal too high — not so high but that I can kiss your toe — the one I tramped on.

The letters are perfectly splendid. I am going to send a batch of them to you at once.

My standby in real estate transactions has pledged his utmost endeavors in securing the right little house.

The breakfast was a great success. Things were very, very gradually worked to a climax, and most of the residents were mystified up to the last. They were all pleased and happy. One of the fellows ('Cole') said Mr. Woods and Miss Bush ought to be called 'The Forest Lovers.'

Dean Hodges says he had a very pleasant letter from your mother. I told him in a tentative way that we wanted him to marry us. He was intensely pleased. I also made arrangements to be confirmed in the Episcopal Church in his church.

I went to a children's play in Cambridge, in which Margaret Hodges was one of the chief performers. Then, to illustrate the amplitude of my vibrations, I turned back into town to see my friend, the Hon. 'Jim Donovan,' the big boss.

NEW YORK CITY
Jan. 25, 1902

ROBERT; . . . You must tell Pres. Tucker that I am a very sorry Episcopalian and you must believe that I fall far short of being

your ideal. But fortunately, my darling Bobbie, you know when you love a person as well as you love frivolous Nellie, the ideal has such a comfortable way of fitting into the actual situation. In fact I have an idea that you left out of the lovely woman some things that I put in, — I don't believe for instance that she was strong minded; — and I, you know, am horribly strong minded, — except where you're concerned and then I capitulate. . . .

BOSTON, *Jany* 26, 1902

You, in thought, are a great deal more and better than the ideal woman. You, really present, leave her so far behind that she is out of sight. She wasn't an orthodox Episcopalian. She was simply and wholesomely religious as you are. Oh how happy I was beside you the first day we went to the Crypt. I had a joyous hope that you and I would from that time on keep letting our feelings go out together toward the great heart of creation. The second day we went, there was a better shrine of our own to which I felt impelled.

I took a walk out at Chestnut Hill yesterday. There are several spots about Boston to which I have gone at critical times — times of great hopes or great disappointments — Now when I go to these places they look different. They seem more wonderful, and I feel as if I was in possession of them.

. . . Dearie, they [various interested friends of both] are getting your future all planned out for you in detail. You won't have any trouble about it at all! You are not going to be allowed to live within a mile of the South End House! . . . Meanwhile I saw my real estate man this morning about the little houses. He mentioned flats; but I told him that she wouldn't live with me in a flat.

I am putting in two very bad kodaks of the plans of our new building. We expect to begin work March 1st. Don't you think the front is very good?

I am glad you liked the Journal of Economics article. Prof. Taussig was very appreciative of it, for him. It is good, for me. But you and I will do things that will be twice as good. . . . I am your true Knight.

. . . As to yourself, dear, don't try to be too minutely faithful, and just trust yourself and me as to any possible little slips. We must be moral impressionists, and fix our minds upon the great motive, and rest in that.

The real perfection is not that of the Greek Temple, finished and foursquare, but that of the Gothic Cathedral, ever aspiring, never complete. We will read Ruskin's "Nature of Gothic" sometime.

. . . I want our little home to have in it an eternal altar flame, to have the Real Presence of the Living God there, to have worship and adoration which shall be as life and breath. The world is old and faith sometimes seems to be going from the earth. But love is ever young, and 'This great heart of creation beats forever like a boy's.' The one life into which God has brought us must be, above all, one in Him, one in service of Him.

. . . I think your mother has the old idea of a minister's wife in mind. You are not going to be a minister's wife. Let me tell you this as one of our secrets. My ambition is to be an unofficial, untitled statesman. So you are to be a statesman's wife — after the newer and better order of a state. You must have its chastened glory in your garments. I like your aunt telling me about the family tree. I am going to tell her about mine. The congratulations are still pouring in. I talked with Miss Annette Rogers over the telephone to-day. She sees it as it is.

. . . To-day it has been going over the forthcoming *Transcript* article with Bridgman, arranging with the printer about our forthcoming report, discussing with Mrs. Rutan a registration system, participating in an ecclesiastical council (and incidentally getting congratulated enough times to keep up the average for the day), rushing back to take a little bit of preliminary dinner, scribbling down a few cold, dull dead, caressing words . . . and lastly to the Trade Union Club where there is an abominable supper, a lot of interesting labor leaders and D. D. Lloyd to speak to us about New Zealand.

. . . I enclose this voluntary assignment of all my rights, title, interest and claim in that old pre-Eleanor Bush Bob Woods. You can have him, or throw him in the waste basket if you like.

The new fellow is really worth considering. Of course he is very new and his head is swelled — but what will you give me for him? He is not for sale! . . . I am not a Ph.D. After I succeeded fairly well in stopping off the Rev. (to which I have no claim) I began to get Dr. I am so glad I am not any thing at all, except yours truly! . . . Some bright morning I am going to be the prince. . . .

. . . There were 40 ladies present, (at a lunch) and I understand that your and my (our) doings were the chief topic of conversa-

tion. There seem to have been two parties, one wondering whether I would do, the other venturing to seek light as to the girl, knowing that men are never in the least to be trusted. This gave Mrs. Billings and Kate Child their glorious opportunity.

. . . This is one of my 'bear' days. You will have to 'educate' him and teach him to dance, climb a greased pole etc. He will probably growl a good deal until he is thoroughly domesticated. . . . This evening the real estate man and I are going prospecting for a band box to put your trousseau in. . . . There will be room for the bear and a little growl. . . . The article only got into the *Transcript* to-night. You will feel reassured about your man when you read it. I don't think of myself as being the fellow I read about.

. . . I got a donation of $500 this morning for prosaic running expenses. This gives us quite a boost, and lets me come to you with a light heart. . . . You and I will write a book together. We'll spend years on it. What shall it be about?

I was at the 20th Century Club last night — a reception to Mr. and Mrs. Mead. I was again numerously congratulated. Most women seem to take it for granted that a man will probably marry some little fool, and when he doesn't it is only by invincible grace that he is saved. I claim just a little grain of credit!

St. Valentine's Day, 1902
New York

. . . The flowers his 'agent' sent me are lovely. You'd better be mighty careful, dearest, if you say you'll get me cabbages instead of roses after we're married p'raps I'll just keep on being engaged. . . . We'll have to compromise, — the days you want cabbage we won't have any dessert but flowers instead.

I've been to the Philharmonic this afternoon. . . .

The symphony was Mozart's in C major. Then at the end they played Wagner's March of Homage — we might have it at our wedding — it was written for an emperor.

1902

. . . That private personal Bob Woods whom you know and who knows you is so glad that you don't belong at all to this somewhat mythical somebody who belongs to so many soul-destroying committees. I shall have one more overtone in my happiness if you will promise me not to be on committees!

. . . I feel happy and at peace in deeper and deeper strata of my being every day. . . . It fills me with joy that you find me so thoroughly a comrade. You are that to me in the most utterly satisfying way. . . . Ten years ago I had a dream that some fellow would come along, caught with the same enthusiasms as I, and that we would enter into a deep, life-long fealty to each other. I have had loyal helpers but no friend like that. I always expected to be married but I didn't expect to find such comradeship in a woman.

. . . . Do you think you are bound up with a crank, Love? You're not. He's only a bear, and a sort of cinnamon bear at that. . . . Do you know I have sometimes thought that if I had only been as bold as a lion (not merely as bold as a bear), I might have kept you from going to New York!

. . . I think rhythm — antiphony — is more satisfying than equilibrium. Equivalence is far more interesting than equality.

> . . . Whate'er thou lovest, man,
> That, too, become thou must:
> God, if thou lovest God,
> Dust, if thou lovest dust.
> Go out; he will come in,
> Be not and he will be —

The work on the report is done except the proof-reading. Next I shall take up some more begging for the new building. Then I shall go to work to finish up Vol. 2 of the City Wilderness (Americans in Process). Then, then I shall get ready to be married to Eleanor and to get her little household kingdom ready. How thrifty my dear girl is! It is a virtue that I admire more than I practice, though as I told you I have poured out all my financiering ability on the S.E.H.

Feb. 11. I am just getting my final circulars ready about the new building.

Feb. 28. I have got quite a hard job ahead of me to raise my $10,000 just now. There are two big building schemes at Harvard that are just soaking up the money.

Mar. 2. I mean to get that $10,000 before April 1st or bust! We have $1700 to start with. I have some lazy streaks in me. I'm not always, though, when I'm not doing anything. I do my work by the decade not by the year.

Next year after I get the money for the building raised and the

book off my hands, I want to give myself to internal development. I mean to build up a thoroughly well-organized neighborhood work. In some respects we have that. But we had reached a point where we couldn't grow at all without more money for running expenses (which came through the first book — and that was one of the chief ulterior motives of the book) and adequate quarters and equipment. Now that we are getting both the era of reconstruction is to begin.

I am beginning to get a start on the money. It's in small drops thus far.

I have always had a conscientious apprehension that I wasn't doing enough. I'm getting all free of that now. One reason is that everybody will know that you and I together will be doing at least one man's work — you doing your part just by being here. The sum and substance of it is that by this summer I intend to be through with literature and through with finance, *for the present*, and to take the field in person and develop a thoroughly organized and effectual neighborhood scheme. We have the frame work of it at present partly filled out.

Mar. 6. The building fund is coming on peg by peg. It has passed the $2000 mark now. I shall get up more steam on it soon I hope. I am working very quietly and personally thus far.

March 7, 1902

Dear — I do love you very much and I think my dear girl has a very wise head. I didn't laugh at your disquisition. I am pleased with its clearness and sagacity. . . . How I would have enjoyed being behind the screen to hear 'the girls' talk, at that lunch.

I am now turning my eyes toward the City Wilderness, Vol. II. Will you help me with it? I have four chapters to write: the introduction, the political chapter, the economic chapter, and the conclusion. I would particularly like your help when I get to the economic chapter.

. . . I am afraid I haven't exactly burnt my own smoke this last week. But after running a smoke consumer so long, I have an irresistible temptation to give just a little puff in your direction now and then. . . . Those who think they have such warm feelings are nearly always the chills and fever kind, and you never know a moment before which they are going to be. . . . How would you like to be a saloon-keeper's wife? Tell me, for I am thinking of starting one.

March, 1902

. . . I have worked out a little mathematical proposition: that the possibilities of communion between two persons are as the circle of the height on which they live together. Life is an inverted cone, and so is love. That's why passion is the extinction of both life and love. We must help each other to be always aspiring, and always making good our aspirations by solid upward gains. . . . One of the great marks of love is that it makes self-control easier. . . . It is very important to know what perfection is. . . . The academic notion of logical accuracy as perfection is very injurious — I've had a letter from Mrs. Rutan, and I am arranging terms with the ladder company for your rescue. When I get up there, dear pillar saint, I may want to *stay*. . . . I want to live with you in a simple, homely, unpretentious way. I don't feel as if I had ever done anything but simply to gain a foothold, a chance to live. I count not myself yet to have apprehended, but I am every day shedding the remembrance of the things that are behind, and every day more and more I have simply to open my eyes to see an enchanted future before me. Till now I have had to goad myself into the future — now it lures me on. 'Not in vain the distance beacons — forward, forward let us range.' All that is, is ours — you and I — Robert.

. . . This is another busy day and a tiresome one. . . . To-night I go to East Boston to preach a little sermon. I have been so busy that I hardly know much of what I am going to say. The motive of it is to be that the man who is most fully conscious of himself as an independent spirit is also most fully conscious of an omnipotent God. This is one of the great antinomies — freedom of the will and providence — yet it is the freest will that most clearly and gladly discerns the over ruling providence.

Still money-grubbing: $400 was added to-day, making $7000 toward the building.

. . . I want to be more susceptible to every tender, gentle feeling, and that can only be by avoiding everything that blurs the windows of the soul.

Damon and I went around this morning. He is greatly taken with the little house on the corner of Hanson and Bond Sts. That, or the first one in from the corner he thinks we must get. It is very convenient to the Back Bay by Berkeley St.

. . . We must help each other to 'live spiritual as well as honest lives.' Our danger will be that we shall trust too much in 'vain

works,' 'deadly doing.' The old Calvinism is right in holding that it is only through faith that we are saved.

March 7. I had a dream last night. A certain former agent of the A.C. came hurrying along on an errand of mercy and I went hurrying by in the opposite direction after a millionaire's scalp. When I was six paces past, a prophetic light burst upon me. I turned swiftly on my heel and went back and kissed her twice — and then the view dissolved like one of Keith's biographs. The fund is a little bigger. Another paltry $100, but two good promises, one of which will amount to $1000 I think.

March 8. One more promise of help from a millionaire young woman. Three weeks until I see you again. When the three weeks is up, I shall have climbed another hill and got the start begun on the new building. I always feel like a boy out of school when I get to the end of a long job — but not for long — I soon begin scheming on another big one. A great deal depends with me on whether an undertaking seems to me really interesting.

Joseph Lee is going to ask his mother for $2000 for the new building.

Mar. 10. More good promises and more people shaken up — that's all for to-day in the matter of the fund. We are to have $15,000 for an endowment fund in a few months from an estate.

There are only two things for a man in the world — work and love. I have fought the good fight for the sake of the work in which I believed — and now I have a great love in which from now on my work gets its setting, its meaning and its power. Anything that we've failed of in the past, we can only get around by going ahead! We are on a spiral ascent in our inverted cone.

Mar. 13. Another paltry hundred on the fund. I expect bigger sums from now on. It takes quite a little time to get the larger donors started.

Mar. 14. The Franklin Institute is coming on very hopefully. The most likely site is on Tremont St. just opposite Union Park. It also seems certain that we are going to arrange that the Ward 9 Gymnasium will be transferred to a large armory across Plympton St. and just back of our new building. When all these things are done, the neighborhood will be ready for her majesty to step in. You'll be the boss on the sociological side — 'Jim' will still rule politically — of a ward containing the most remarkable

cluster of progressive municipal philanthropic agencies to be found in any such district throughout the whole world.

I have just had a letter from Mr. Paine — who on Saturday thought that he couldn't give more than his annual donation of $100 — saying that he cannot deny himself the pleasure of a subscription to the new South End House enterprise, though he cannot now say how much it will be. Isn't that fine?

Mar. 16. I am now just getting to the crisis in the battle. If I succeed this week, the worry about the money will be over — there will be more work of course. Counting in promises at their lowest estimate, we are now sure of $5000 of the $10,000.

Mar. 17. (Saint Patrick's Day.) I've been celebrating our National holiday by 'begging the streets of Boston' as a reformed drunkard once described the low state to which he had fallen. I got another $1000 to-day. This brings me up to nearly $5000 subscribed. Indefinite promises already made will yield $3000 at the very lowest.

I have now raised just under $20,000 (exclusive of receipts for running expenses) since last August. But there's $20,000 more to raise.

Mar. 18. Dear Goal and Prize — I am $1250 nearer to you than I was yesterday. $1000 comes from a namesake of your future self, Mrs. Woods.

Mar. 19. To-day things have gone the other way. I haven't received anything and I have learned that it will be necessary to drive piles, which will mean $1500 or $2000 added to the cost. There was a meeting of the playground committee this morning and we had a meeting of our council this afternoon so there was no chance to beg. I fear we are going to be somewhat delayed in starting on the building by the increase in the expense.

In a certain way I am sorry that you will never see the South End House as a little place. Beginning with next fall it is going to be a big place.

I don't know when I am going to get time for much preparation for my talks. Still what I want to do is to impress the settlement workers with a few dominant ideas that have come to me through experience, and such things are so much a part of one's life that they are not susceptible of being prepared.

Mar. 20. Do you get tired of my shoppy wares? To-day things seem to be starting up again. I got $400 and a promise

which will mean some hundreds more. I had to hunt up my subcommittee to-day, and this afternoon Mrs. Sears and Mrs. Russell came. I made up a little exhibit of the work, maps, plans, photographs, etc., which interested them and even impressed blasé me!

Mar. 21. No money came in. People were inaccessible. I've got quite a tussle on my hands for the next year — to get this new building going while at the same time keeping up the receipts for running expenses. But after that things will be easier than ever before because at last the idea will have become tangible, and even the less discerning will be able to see! After that our difficulty will probably be that people will think that the house is rich. For that reason it isn't best for us to have the building wholly paid for — a mortgage is a kind of open palm.

Mar. 22. Beggary is slumping somewhat at present, while the cost of building is going up. The pile-driving is going to cost $3000 instead of $2000. We've got to reduce the cost of the building somehow. There are a number of people who are going to subscribe but prefer to wait till after April 1 when their dividends come in.

Mar. 23. Two husbands and wives promised last night to subscribe toward the new building. What a nefarious trade this beggary is. Too much money grubbing lately for any glimpses of heaven.

Mar. 24. To-day has not been a successful day for beggary. One more man is going to consider it, but it takes a long time to round up these people who are going to consider it. More than two dozen people are now 'seriously' considering it and they undoubtedly will give enough to run the subscription up six or seven thousand dollars more. Meantime we are holding back the building because we don't want to begin work until we get actual subscriptions within $15,000 of the total cost.

Mar. 25. This is one of the busy days. Beggary in the morning — company to lunch — architect and committee in the afternoon — associate workers meeting in the evening. The fund grew this morning $500. Also I had a long interview with one of the multimillionaires. He is interested and will, I think, send a good-sized check. The trouble is to get a chance at these men. I've been working for years to get a chance at Mr. ——.

Well may you speak of recoiling from begging! It almost

killed me at first. It was torment and I should never have done it except by sheer compulsion. Now I find a certain melancholy enjoyment in it!

Apr. 20. I got another $1000 to-day for the building fund. With some small sums that have come in since I got back from N.Y. this more than makes up the $10,000 that I started out for about Feb. 15. It took longer than I thought it would to get it. Now I have to get between $3000 and $4000 more, chiefly on account of the additional expense of piling.

April 23, 1902

. . . I am to be confirmed next Sunday at four o'clock. . . . I think we have both asked the reason why quite enough, and may now live for the sake of life itself. . . . On account largely of a defective education nearly everyone is self-conscious and I wouldn't think much about it. . . . I have been interrupted and delayed as I am nearly every day. My friend B—— is the latest offender. He pursues me.

We had four of the older boys to dinner to-night. They behaved beautifully. Two of them are boys that we've had lots of trouble with, but they're coming out all right.

I went to Mrs. Lane's funeral this morning. It was a full musical mass and a very beautiful service.

I feel very happy in the prospect of going into the church which I have always loved, and of being in the same household of faith with you.

. . . When we're married I want you to have all my evenings filled up with appointments for two weeks ahead. Then I can always get out of things that are sprung on me. . . .

. . . Yesterday afternoon went very peacefully and happily . . . Dean Hodges was very nice about it. When I told him I was happy about it, he said words couldn't tell how happy he was about it.

Mr. Woods explained his ties of church allegiance in a letter to a close friend in the Congregational fellowship:

My marriage is going to be the occasion, not the cause, of my going into the Episcopal Church. The change is a natural and, in fact, a long contemplated one. I was brought up a Presbyterian. My ancestral traditions were of the Church of England. I have never seemed to myself other than a generously treated

guest in Congregationalism. I have always felt very grateful for what it was for me at Amherst and Andover, and have endeavored loyally to return the great obligations which it had placed upon me. . . . My intimacy with Episcopalians in matters of present-day Christianity is more and more a vital thing.

Apr. 27. I am getting very impatient to get started on the building. We need $3500 before we can begin. I am so of one idea at a time that I can't get up steam on the book until I get the building fund out of the way.

May 2. This is a brief note between a meeting of our council and a lot of people coming to dinner. We have at last voted to proceed with the building! J—— L—— agreed to be responsible for $2000 more. I got $600 yesterday, and we figured the promises and expressions of interest of 12 or 15 people as worth $1000 — which made up the amount we have been aiming for. I take a long breath. We still need $15,000, but that can go on mortgage. Most of it, I hope, will come in while the building is going up.

. . . The men are actually at work excavating for the new building. I feel as if I had reached the top of a very steep hill.

There is a little house vacant opposite 'ours,' but I fear it isn't sunny enough. I told Damon he would soon have to face an irate lady. He said he would hustle.

I have been begging for the building so long that we have got behind on the running expenses. Now I've got to get to work on that side. And so the world wags on —

. . . I'm so glad you're away from N.Y. for good. It never seemed the right background for you. As to C—— I am so often surprised to find that people are really so much like what they look to be!

Don't try to shake me off and be your old Boston, independent, careering self, will you? You have a handicap now.

The chronicle of the daily letter was broken in upon by my arrival in Boston for a short stay, made eventful by a 'To Let' sign appearing in the window of 14 Bond Street. The question of a house was then quickly settled, since it was one of the first that had seemed most suitable and attractive. Bond Street, we were to learn later, had been in earlier days an abode for young married couples.

. . . I am struggling with my speech for the insurance men. When I get a chance to talk for twenty minutes to business men I am inclined to tell them everything I know. I should like to devote at least five minutes to you! Don't you think they'd be interested?

I have been reappointed for a five year term to the Bath Commission. So you'll have an official title after all — 'Mrs. Commissioner.' My Irish friends give me the title once in a while, especially those who are 'looking for something.'

. . . The speaking last night seemed to be successful. Several of the insurance men told me that I made a genuine hit! There you are again, little girl. I didn't use to make hits before you joined the firm.

I am getting the sand on the track for the City Wilderness and the wheels are slowly beginning to turn. Not much progress yet.

May 18, 1902

. . . I went all through our little house yesterday. The rooms are indeed large. . . . The basement dining room is certainly not very cheerful. Maybe we can make it so — but we'll see about that. . . . I think we are very fortunate to get so good a house.

The new building is progressing. Stone is to be hauled tomorrow. I was just thinking that after we get our house there will be eight different centers in this neighborhood for whose establishment our settlement may be credited.

. . . The lease to your kingdom is signed, sealed and delivered. The house is glorious with sunlight in the morning. Then it gets some more from 2 to 4.30 — You'll have to be superogatorily sunny in the interim. Have you a dictionary up there?

. . . The aldermen have gone into a disgraceful land deal with the Franklin Fund, and propose to locate it out in Roxbury. We are going to put the matter into the courts.

June 2, 1902

. . . I got back hot and dusty, but feeling much improved. You and the landscape made me feel ready to tackle something *hard*. I pitched into the C.W. this evening and really sent a good deal of daylight into it. I am going to give a lecture at the Harvard Summer School on the Waste of Ability. Are you sorry that I am

not a great academical success — an authority? Tell, tell me true!

. . . I had a letter to-day from a women's club, saying that I had been mentioned to them as 'a possible entertainer.' Do you think I really am 'a possible entertainer'? Tell me, my stern and gentle critic! Naught extenuate, naught set down in malice. Am I both 'possible' and an entertainer, or indeed either separately. I am so glad I have a dear Portia to lay down the law to me.

June 13, 1902

I renewed my youth to-day. I went out to the Episcopal School and was variously congratulated.

Dr. Rainsford preached a great sermon. He said laymen ought to be admitted to the Episcopal Church without signing the creed. He said what I have so often said that *loyalty* was the only test Jesus used.

Dean Hodges has marked Woods across Sept 17–20. He will be in Cambridge at that time. . . . My political chapter is coming on finely. I have been afraid it was not going to be as good as the political chapter in Vol. I, which was the banner chapter so far as the general reader was concerned. But I believe (whisper) this chapter is going to be better than that.

. . . I am so glad that you trust me so completely. Yet I am always blaming women for trusting men so much! Isn't that a curious contradiction? I suppose it's like everything else. The large gains in life are usually made by finding where the exceptions are to good rules and then bravely following out the exceptions.

July 2, 1902

. . . I went out to see Miss Irwin about the proposed Radcliffe fellowship. She was much pleased with the plan, and it all looks very hopeful. Miss Rogers wants you to suggest some proper incumbent for the fellowship. It is not necessarily a Radcliffe graduate, though preferably.

Aug. 2, 1902

After beheading the cook with such neatness that she seemed really to prefer her head that way, and putting in the first installment of ms. to H. M. & Co. . . .

Aug. 15, 1902

. . . To-day I have been putting the finishing touches on the political chapter. I give the West End boss some very hard raps. You must be prepared for my having enemies!

I enclose a letter from my brother Jim. He is the good member of the family. He gets anxious but he never gets cross.

August 25, 1902

Back in the traces again — feeling more strongly and clearly than ever the coming solid joy and peace of living and working in these scenes *with you*. I am so eager, little girl, to live steadily on a possible, not a dreamed-of high level. . . . I have a settled, realistic, domesticated love for you — and an Irish love besides —

CHAPTER XVII

AMERICANS IN PROCESS

The publication of the study of the North and West Ends of Boston was the first big event after our marriage. It appeared under the title 'Americans in Process' and so assumed an identity independent of 'The City Wilderness.'

The story of city politics was continued in a chapter called 'Traffic in Citizenship,' but while in the first book Mr. Woods had kept to general statements, in the second he clearly fixed responsibility by a description of two hard-shelled politicians. They were easily recognizable. A suit for libel was immediately threatened.

There was zest in the possibility of court proceedings which might open wider approaches to the true state of affairs. However, Mr. Woods knew his adversaries well enough to feel confident that they would not venture into the arena and suffer the possibility of further disclosures. In this assumption he was correct, showing that the thrust made into the surrounding corruption of their domains had touched the quick. The newspaper headlines due to this flurry carried the sale of the book into its second edition within a month after its appearance.

In 'The City Wilderness' Mr. Woods had pointed out that the 'roots of political power' were to be found in the natural associations of young men outgrowing their boyhood gangs. Lack of resource in securing work also gave to political leaders a despotic hold upon both individuals and organizations among their constituencies.

> The few secure a job; the many get promises. Those who get jobs are slaves of the boss. . . . What is the honest use of their suffrage compared with bread? According to the ethics of the district, a man who receives a job is under the most sacred obligations to the politician who bestowed it. . . . It is impossible to convince the knowing ones that any candidate is not 'out for the

stuff'. . . . The point of view of the majority of candidates and voter, too, is that the municipal government is theirs to use.

The leadership itself was not sufficiently free from economic pressure to be able to give truly disinterested public service:

The motive of the boss in seeking favors from the City government is to satisfy claims upon him and to maintain himself. In this, forsooth, he considers himself as merely going the way of the world. He is to a large extent justified in so thinking. The highly respectable contractor or corporation man, who directly or indirectly makes corrupt deals with him, does so because 'business is business.' The boss enters into these deals, and goes through the rest of his programme, not because he likes to, but because 'it's politics.' Both are caught in the toils of an evil system.

Love of power is even more easily gratified in municipal politics than in more aristocratic walks of life.

The boss has reduced to a science the knack of dominating men . . . partly for the love of position and power, and partly from a good heart, the boss enjoys doing good turns for men.

In the second volume he adds to this analysis of the situation:

Ward politics is an amplified scheme of family communism — a modernized clan. Some day it may perhaps become apparent to the historian, looking back, that this clan life in the midst of civilization went with the industrial and social confusion of the time. . . . The present day barbaric outlook must be altered if we would impart truly civilized conceptions of politics or of life in general. . . . Ward politics is largely an affair of young men. It brings them into some sort of equal association with persons of influence and power. Ambitious youths, with no one to help them to a professional or commercial career, and having prejudices to meet in those lines against their race and religion, find an open, inviting opportunity in politics.

Politics, far more than any other interest, gives dignity to the larger social life in these wards. The man who succeeds in business moves away into pleasanter surroundings; the man who succeeds in politics must, in effect at least, remain. It is, therefore,

on the political, not on the economic or educational scale, that social dignities are registered. . . .The evil methods will remain; yet not because of him (the boss). They exist because, to immigrant as to native humanity, liberty is an empty thing without the means of life. Machine politics provides for the purchase of opportunity by the payment of freedom. . . .

He brought out still another aspect of the situation in a concluding chapter called 'Assimilation: A Two-edged Sword':

The prosperous classes have begun to find that a demoralizing political régime, bred in the midst of an alien, ill-favored way of life, is getting its hold upon the affairs of their pleasant residential districts, and even at times threatens important downtown business interests.

Here begins the application of the parable. Among the most respectable suburban population to be found within the boundaries of the city there is a startling instance of political contagion. A man holding great political power, formerly in high office, determined to hold still higher, stands practically convicted of misappropriation of public funds. Notwithstanding this fact, it is only by the most earnest and persistent efforts of high minded citizens that he is kept from full political control of the district. What is the secret of his mysterious power? . . . This man, a Republican of New England origin, began his political career not many years ago as a resident of the West End, under the tutelage of the Democratic boss of that district. On removing to the suburbs, he at once proceeded to put in force the policy of his master, adapted somewhat to different local conditions. The two men continued to maintain an offensive and defensive alliance with utter disregard of party lines. . . . There are times when some disgraceful scheme has been so thoroughly exposed as to draw off all members who have any healthy fear of public opinion. At such moments, when the smoke of conflict clears, a group of the West End type of Democrats and certain Dorchester Republicans are often found standing together, held by the honor which obtains among such.

The disclosures of 'Americans in Process' stirred afresh the well-nigh inactive forces of disinterested citizenship only partially awakened by Josiah Quincy's administra-

tion. An organized movement took shape to give continuous attention to the intricate problems of the government of Boston.

Mr. Woods participated in such ventures, always believing that some good would come of them. The course which he urged as he had the opportunity was to consider the city in its living aspect and not in its institutionalism. He was not so much disposed to be a physician to her ills as a participant in her stronger purposes. He saw that

> Municipal reform has often been strong in the rôle of opposition, but has not been able to devise a method which would have the responsible qualities of permanence and effectualness. . . . opposition must be reduced to the minimum . . . in political matters to lift local issues to the level of common, honest, local needs; to instill into the mind of the local voter, by actual experience on his part, a conception of the city as a coöperative enterprise based on mutual aid, instead of either an oligarchy whose favor is to be gained by truckling, or of an efficient despotism under some commercial Cincinnatus; not to attempt the destruction of the Boss, but to develop out of him a type of local leader who shall with as much realism as before, stand for a distinctively local kind of public spirit; and to induce larger and larger numbers of progressive citizens, living in different sections of the city, to join in taking these perfectly definite steps toward a more realistic type of municipal politics. The task of improving city conditions must be carried out with minute attention to the special problems of each neighborhood, each block, each family, by influences from within and from without, involving in the latter case the disinterested use of time and money on the part of thousands of individual men and women. Yet the great present requisite is a sense of the city in its ensemble, and an increasing capacity on the part of the citizens to enter into new combinations for the public welfare regardless of economic conditions, nationality, or religious affiliations.

Over and above political performance there was much to be said for the discharge of social obligations by Boston people for the benefit of immigrants just gaining their American foothold.

The North End has for generations been Boston's classic land

of poverty. . . . It is difficult for the elderly Boston citizen to see any distressing occurrence associated with the life of the poor in other scenes.

Fifteen years ago the organization of charity began to ripen into forms of action designed to shut off some of the need of relief in the individual and family life, and lift the people, especially the young, to the level of fair opportunities of industry and happiness. But a final overwhelming incursion of helpless, inarticulate foreigners swept in upon the North End, and in less degree upon the West End, necessarily postponing the larger growth of personal philanthropy, and precipitating sanitary, industrial and moral problems so threatening that it became necessary to call upon the State for new and unprecedented forms of legislative action.

. . . In Boston this most advanced form of legislation against the slum has for five years now been enforced with increasing grasp and effectiveness.

. . . It is one of the chief distinctions of present-day American life in general that there is so great a variety of effort, municipal, commercial, philanthropic, for the advancement of general human well-being among all our urban populations.

Mr. Woods made the text of his discussion of political corruption 'After all, the predominating issue is — work,' the opportunity and ability to earn an adequate livelihood, and the spirit in which it is pursued.

The American 'standard of living and of life' is being intrenched in various ways — by the commonwealth and the municipality, by working-class regulations and sentiments. It has suffered seriously, and still is threatened. The issue will depend on the effect of the total civilization of the city in amplifying the range of wants among these new peoples. In this way the energy, productive capacity and ambition of the mass of them will be brought to a higher point. At the same time, that base, passionate enterprise will be tempered which would ruthlessly sacrifice kindred and neighbor for the dream of ultimate prosperity.

The power of the ward politician established in securing work for his constituents really pointed to a much more serious condition than corrupt city government.

Mr. Woods was convinced that, important as might be the correction of abuses in municipal affairs, the real issue was in the making of competent citizens. For this the whole round of life in city neighborhoods must be dealt with. It was first and last a matter of education.

Although the public schools in Boston were not under political domination, there was a serious lack of comprehension in their administration as to the whole round of life in a modern city. The absence of educational preparation for the making of a living was a main issue in a neighborhood of industrial people. In assuming the championship of this cause Mr. Woods was acting as an integral part of the South End community. He was seen by the neighbors to have understanding in their terms when he helped to get work for their boys and girls and knew its difficulties.

'Waste of ability' became the watchword of the next several years while the subject of industrial education was being prepared for. Any occasion that arose was turned to account to help create a public opinion. When an invitation came from President Eliot to speak before the National Education Association, he developed under the title 'Educational Philanthropy' both an answer to the critics of social work, and his greater thesis.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, *March* 21, 1903

DEAR MR. WOODS:

As President of the National Education Association this year, I propose to devote one of the evening sessions of the convention at Boston to the following subject: — 'The political and social reasons for providing, with money raised by taxation, free schools, libraries, baths, parks, and parkways, and hospitals and asylums and protection against contagious diseases.'

You have doubtless observed that there is a school of social philosophers who believe that all these provisions at the public expense are unjustifiable and work harm. . . . I shall be very glad if you would be one of the speakers, and take as your part of the subject something like the following: — 'The actual effect on the lower strata of society of these gratuitous public provisions.' Let me briefly illustrate my meaning: an economist, in conversation

with me this week, said, 'Society would be better off if there were no lying-in hospitals, no floating hospitals, no provision of safe milk for slum babies, and in general no means of defending against the physical dangers of ignorance and poverty tenement-house mothers and babies.' This is probably the extreme position of this school of thinkers. . . . It suggests a doubt as to whether it is always safe to give away an admirable thing like an education. You will see, therefore, that testimony to the actual working of the public gifts mentioned above on the classes which most profit by them would be interesting. Could you not give that testimony?

In the address prepared for this occasion Mr. Woods said:

. . . it is necessary for all of us to take upon ourselves the responsibility of educating the thoughtful people in the community as to the place which education has in the building up of the community. We take that fact too much for granted ourselves, and we do not take measures to have other people understand it. For instance, in the city of Boston, with its enormous expenditure, involving enormous drain upon the taxpayers, a great part of the expenditure which comes through taxation goes to support institutions which gather up the evil results that come from a bad and bungling scheme of civilization, from an insufficient system and scheme of education. The city hospital, which is one of the finest institutions of its kind in the world, is yet rendering a service the need of which might be in part obviated. The city hospital costs more than a thousand dollars per day. We have our houses of correction, which cost $600 per day. We have our alms-houses and institutions for neglected children; we have our police force, which comes next to the public schools as an item of public expense. The question is going to be asked before long, from a purely financial point of view, whether there is not some way by which a portion of this vast outlay for the negative, superficial treatment of social evils can be cut off. In due time we shall be able to show to the hard-headed taxpayer that by the establishment of public baths, public gymnasiums, public playgrounds, by experiments in the direction of educational philanthropy, a way may be found to cut off some of that expense and to relieve the city decisively and permanently of some of that burden.

A great part of the effort of those who are endeavoring to pro-

mote educational philanthropy is to explain to intelligent persons throughout the community just what the need is of new enterprise in that direction, and to explain to such persons in very concrete fashion its definite results. In other words, educational philanthropy has a mission to the educated classes and the resourceful classes quite as distinctly as to those who belong to the less privileged ranks in life. . . .

Then, too, educational philanthropy concerns itself with what cannot be spoken of more accurately than to call it social education. A great many people think that settlement work concerns itself largely with gayeties. It does. Many boys and girls in settlement clubs are more interested in dancing and in amateur dramatics than in anything else. But we find that interests of this sort may be made the means of securing the most important educational results. Often you can secure points in character when you speak of deportment which you never could secure in any direct way. Very often you can accomplish in your dancing class certain ends which you could not accomplish in your Sunday-school class, in the way of permanent growth in character.

And then, too, educational philanthropy concerns itself quite definitely with experiments in the direction of training for vocation. One of the things that strike you most strongly in the life of a working-class district is the fact that boys and girls, as they leave our public schools, have no sort of training to fit them for entering upon some permanent employment. To a very large extent, when they leave the grammar schools they go into some sort of calling which is essentially juvenile. The boys become messenger boys or go into the newspaper or boot-black business, while the girls become cash girls in the great stores. The difficulty with those callings is, that a young person will follow them for three or four years and at the end of that time be no farther on in his substantial preparation for a life work than he was at the beginning. It is highly important that we should develop educational resources for training those young people to fulfill some increasing use in life. The task of educational philanthropy, wherever it is found, is to a very large extent that of endeavoring to fit boys and girls, during the years after the grammar school stage, for taking up some definite industrial career. Any one who has worked in a crowded district in any of our great cities knows that there are numerous cases of exceptionally bright boys and girls who are prevented from going into the secondary school on account of the poverty, or ignorance, or indifference, or all three

combined, of their parents. It is certainly an anomalous situation that if a boy or girl can persevere through the secondary stage and get as far as the collegiate stage, he finds very great resources to help him on through the collegiate stage of his education; while large numbers of promising boys and girls are stopped in the course of their education at the beginning of the secondary stage.

But there is a far more forcible line of argument in support of these experiments in the direction of educational philanthropy. The prime source of the wealth of any country or of any city consists in the productive capacity of its people. We have been depending all along upon importing productive capacity into the city from the village, American and European, but we have got to learn some way now by which we can develop productive capacity within the life of the city itself. It is only through a broad, thoroughgoing system of education, that will touch all sides of life and provide for all the practical needs of life, that we shall be able to develop that productive capacity. And if we can show to the thoughtful citizen that education is reaching out in order to bring to the light and bring into full power the variety of latent productive capacity that is born into the children of the mass of the people, then I believe that we shall have an invincible argument in favor of a higher rate of taxation for educational purposes and larger appropriations for the support of educational enterprise.

The second great event of the winter of 1903 was the opening of the new building for the organized settlement activities. Mr. Woods likened it to a 'neighborhood town hall' and gave it local identity by naming it 'The South Bay Union,' after the near-by water-front, an arm of Boston Harbor which determined the chief industries of the locality, lumber yards, wood-turning establishments, and the manufacturing of pianos, many of the last being shipped from its wharves to other seaboard cities in the coastwise trade.

His satisfaction in the opening of the building was characteristic of his way of getting the joy of his labors. He saw it not only in its immediate serviceableness but in the even fuller uses of years to come.

The definite educational purpose in the plan of its organ-

ized program was evident in the small stage, forerunner of community theaters, carpentry and clay-modeling rooms, kitchen and kindergarten equipment. They were prophetic signs of the new motives in education to which Mr. Woods confidently gave impetus. He was eager to have the boys and girls realize the joy in achievement of the craftsman's skill.

In the spring of that year, Mr. Woods took me for a vacation in England, whence we made a pilgrimage to his 'native land,' finding that it was indeed the Emerald Isle, rejoicing in the jaunting car and ancient Irish gold ornaments; seeing portraits of rulers of England in the National Gallery in Dublin; calling on town and country cousins and at his father's birthplace.

Acquaintances in London were renewed; we visited Canon and Mrs. Barnett at their Hampstead house, where with a gesture to the sky and rolling landscape Mrs. Barnett suggested the future Hampstead Garden Suburb, the logic of long years of Whitechapel residence to be carried out to the circumference of possibility in right living conditions. Not for seventeen years were we to see the results of her magic wand; long vacations were not compatible with the pressure of oncoming events.

The return from abroad brought us back to all the incidental enjoyments which a varied acquaintance can provide, from the spontaneous pleasure of Ellen McCarthy over real silver teaspoons when drinking tea at our house, to cross-town dinner parties at the sophisticated hour of eight o'clock.

Our own hospitality was necessarily very informal. It was almost always a matter of some definite purposeful intercourse that made occasion for guests for lunch or dinner, or even for breakfast. Within the round of settlement gayeties any affair that might bring a group to our house was always by very special invitation. This was a very much appreciated fact. Indeed, our home in the district, independent of the settlement house, had its own distinct value. When it was seen that in taking a wife Mr.

Woods had not been led off into a well-to-do suburb, the neighbors of longest standing, who had feared he might be lost to them, became reconciled, and had renewed faith 'that he was honest.' They had, too, a very clear idea of what the dignity of a home of his own meant in the district.

Mr. Woods knew many men well but he had no time to cultivate a purely personal social intercourse. In one sense it might be said he had few intimate friends. On the other hand, his relations with those with whom he had working associations were often in quiet ways very personal and intimate. He admired many of them and gave them his appreciation freely; and in a few cases his deep affection. Undoubtedly his warmest regard was for Thomas Lane. For one thing, their paths crossed when Mr. Woods had most need of an understanding friend versed in the ways of people. Others shared his attachment of which he wrote: 'men confined to no walk in life, to no section of the city, to no nationality or religion. These friends will remember among their choicest experiences their association with Mr. Lane at the headquarters of the Bath Department, at the different gymnasiums and bathhouses throughout the city, in some enterprise of amusement or recreation, at his home or theirs, or most intimate of all, in some of those conferences often lasting far into the night amid the somber signs of his calling at the office on Havre street.'

An impression still comes back to me, after nearly a quarter of a century, of being admitted to one of the less solemn conclaves of these conspirators for the common good. Silence reigned while the little company of three or four settled themselves in the unusual atmosphere of our new home. It was something like the brewing of the souls of men. Then rose to utterance the cogent humor of the keen and friendly dean bringing forth some human interest tale of dealings with men more frail, to whom he had spoken in present-day parables out of affairs within their ken illustrating the mistakes of listlessness and disaffection.

Meantime, Mr. Woods was listening intently in characteristic fashion with head bent forward and a little to one

side so as not to miss any suggestive inflection of the voice; his eyes glistening held attentively to the narrator, his underlip bitten in to restrain his enjoyment with a little twitching smile, suspecting the full richness of the climax of the story. When it came he yielded to prolonged laughter, ending with a sighing 'Oh-h-h' of complete surrender to his appreciation of the depths of human insight which homely wit reveals.

Mr. Lane's solemn advice on how to treat a wife was that every week she was to be taken for an evening's outing of dinner and the theater. Our house on the edge of the theater district made the favorite practice of play-going easy, but Mr. Woods had lived too long at a communal table, with its responsibilities, to be lured willingly from the privacy of our little dining-room.

His own wisdom as to managing a wife found such occasional expression as presenting to the lady of the house an artistically printed card bearing the familiar verse:

> 'Then, welcome each rebuff
> That turns earth's smoothness rough,
> Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
> Be our joys three-parts pain!
> Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
> Learn, nor account the pang; dare never grudge the throe!'

At another poignant moment, looking intently at me with an intensity as of a lesson learned at great price, he repeated an epigram written, I believe, of Fanny Kemble: 'She was the proudest spirit that ever affronted the long humiliation of life.'

In spite of his hope that I would keep myself free from many engagements, it was Mr. Woods himself who began first to make special claims for 'the work' upon my time. There was always more than enough to be done; any free time could be easily directed toward new ventures. Thus the spare room of our house became the scene of costume making for the first alfresco pageantry performances on the new stage at the South Bay Union for which I drew on the side issues of college days for ideas. The direction of

large parties was a kindred art, in which we had a common mind. Our partnership was never more complete than at the close of such occasions. I sometimes accused Mr. Woods of being slow in the preliminary uptake, but I had always to admit that he was a bulwark of strength in the performance of his part.

We soon came to see that I, too, should have some very definite identification of my own with the people of the district. Mr. Woods gave me an assignment to the new venture in the lodging-house district, then far more a city wilderness than any tenement-house section with its responsive young life. He was an urgent chief, welcoming any small beginnings in the way of acquaintance which I might be able to make. Taking the list of women voters for the school committee I would fare forth to give advice as to candidates. The throes of strangeness, of doorbell ringing, and of overcoming the austerity of the first front-door salute would all be forgotten in narrating each encounter in which some depth of human feeling would have been plumbed. Good friends of to-day are still to be counted from that early list of calls.

There was everything to learn about ways and means of building up some sort of social framework in an ever-changing population of thirty to forty thousand people for whom family ties were often but broken fragments. A survey[1] of this part of the South End made by Mr. A. B. Wolfe, holding the South End House Harvard fellowship, was part of Mr. Woods's strategy. It presented a clearly defined picture of an important phase of city life which needed thought and care, and sympathetic leadership. Here more than elsewhere it was important to emphasize the function of the House as working with people for the common ends of community well being. Largely Mr. Woods's faith and determination, making the most of any friendly response, built up a supporting public sentiment which was ready to work for the district.

While we were thus making our place on local terms in

[1] The Lodging House Problem.

our larger community somewhat slowly, affairs of city and state-wide concern were steadily gaining in momentum, drawing upon Mr. Woods's time and thought. He found himself with a program that dealt with two sides of the cause of poverty and labor; on the one hand, with constructive measures for the enhancement of life in the field of education; on the other, with the process of 'factoring out the residuum,' of relieving both labor and charity of an enormous burden.

CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

The rearing of Democracy is a vast structural task. . . . Universal suffrage and even universal elementary education only make the struggling beginnings.

Mr. Woods has sometimes been called the philosopher of the settlement movement; he was perhaps even more the strategist. Certain it is that in the conflicting maze of facts, episodes, and opinions of the period ushered in by the twentieth century, he was able to choose a direction and create a plan of action for his own work and to see it in relation to the almost overwhelming greatness of the process in which the life of the world is involved. Still further, he could project over circumstances that came within his influence both ideas and practical procedure which have enduring momentum.

The first ten years of his career was part of his educational preparation. The experience and study necessary for the two publications of the South End House brought him out of the classification of either theoretical socialist or reformer. He remained steadfast thereafter to a policy of social construction. But all conceived possibilities of social development were subject to the conditions of arising opportunity. It was part of his power to recognize the chance which could be made to secure results and to pursue it with vigorous initiative.

For the betterment of the conditions of labor and poverty, how could the social work of the settlement make that vital contribution which would justify its place in the community? The answer was in the first response of the neighborhood to the young men of the Andover House. The small boy on the doorstep of No. 6 Rollins Street was tutor to their chivalry and compassion. He stirred them by the crucifixion of his powers which sordid conditions of life imposed upon him. Mr. Woods came to see political,

moral, and industrial problems in the light of the unfulfilled individual abilities of the boys of his acquaintance. The possibility of far-reaching results in the citizenship of democracy and in profound economic adjustments lay in a strategy that focussed on the right direction of the industrial life of boys and girls. Here was a need conspicuous to the discerning minds of settlement workers.

The future of democracy depended on the productive man, its real citizen: 'not merely the one who has knowledge of its traditions, but the one who is normally dovetailed into its system of industry, and who is receiving some proper share of the results of the country's work.' The seeing of life as it is lived had brought its own decision that to this end, in one way or another, he was bent on setting his hand.

We must realize afresh the poignant facts in the daily intercourse with people of the neighborhood over a period of ten years. In that time young boys who were his first friends had joined the ranks of the rulers of the city as they came of voting age. What had life in that time meant to them? 'The poor in our cities have as fierce a contest with industrial conditions as the barbarians had against wild nature' was Mr. Woods's well-considered estimate of what these young men had to face. With each year there grew a list of boys seen month by month to deteriorate in their natural capacities, as they practiced the bravado necessary to face the difficulties of getting work. Often during school hours the residents of the settlement would meet on the street some boy about whom there was special concern. He might be seen on some corner apparently deep in thought, with head hanging in dogged fashion. 'What about school?' would be the question. 'Don't have to go to school — had a birthday — looking for work,' would come the reluctant answers. So there he was after the first plunge into the struggle for life — unprepared.

'The aimless wandering from one unskilled and low-grade occupation to another of many boys whom they had sought to help, brought members of the settlements into

mental and spiritual revolt.' So runs the memory of the early days of the Head of the South End House.

He urged the settlements more and more to assume in all possible ways the rôle of 'resourceful parent' in launching boys and girls into their work in life. In his earliest years he may have seemed somewhat more the elder brother, a relationship so well understood among Irish folk with strong family loyalties where the older children help the younger ones to a start in life. It is pleasant so to think of him with the gangs of boys who so definitely helped to chart his course.

We can scarcely appreciate to-day the need there was for leadership in both thought and action for widening and deepening the scope of the public schools to meet modern conditions in industrial, commercial and agricultural communities alike. It was necessary to present the case so that a public sentiment might be created. This was not coming from the educators in the schools. In spite of the fact that the previous quarter of a century had been a period of 'complete reorganization of educational thought, curriculum, ideals, facilities, administration in the United States,' the problems of the children of working people, so largely immigrants, had been overlooked. Yet the situation was not wholly due to them; before the great migrations from Europe ten per cent of the children of Boston between five and fifteen years old were not accounted for in either public or private schools.

Mr. Woods was by no means unappreciative of what the schools in Boston were doing. 'The City Wilderness' sets forth the public school as an

> important agency for righteousness among children living in the midst of some, if not all, of its evils — the industrial struggle, intemperance, ugly surroundings, vice, ignorance. The public schools, therefore, have a difficult missionary task to perform. They are called upon, not only to give a certain amount of book-learning, but to bring light and life and social healing. . . . To the results gained by the schools in instilling intelligence and righteousness where home surroundings are at their worst and in unit-

ing a confused immigrant population, must be added what they accomplish in the more specific training of child faculty. . . . The kindergarten makes the child a social being. . . . The kindergarten and manual training are closely related. . . . In tenement house districts manual training is a particularly hopeful form of education. It is the enemy of indifference and wilfulness, because every step requires self-control, thoughtfulness, care. A thing created means for the boy added self-respect. Furthermore, the boy's wood and tools are realities; they register his temper; he must be sincere with them, for his work stands plainly visible, approving or condemning him. . . . It is very important that manual education should not come to an end short of the trade school. This institution Boston lacks. The need of it is apparent. . . . Friendly relations between teacher and pupil in and out of school are very frequent. . . . That there is scant time for visiting in the homes of pupils is true; but an enlightened discipline certainly requires knowledge of the home and parents of the children. It is to be hoped that ere long definite provision for such an effort will be made.

The study of the north and west sections of the city brought into view the even more serious condition of immigrant children who, in the background of their home life, lacked the connecting links with the new country of language and traditions. In 'Americans in Process' it was pointed out that

'From the kindergarten to the Master's class' defines the entire school career of a child who, in comparison with his fellows, may be looked upon as having received a thorough education . . . though neither high school or college is entirely unknown or unsought. . . . The law requires that children between seven and fourteen years of age shall be in school; but at every stage in the course these immigrant children are attaining their sad majority. Where two hundred enter only about fifty graduate. . . .

Pupils leave school for a variety of reasons. A broad division of these reasons might be made under the heads of *poverty* and *lack of interest*. The immediate concern is to secure a school curriculum that will remedy the second condition, and at the same time give to those to whom the first applies the best training the few years admit; to make school life so practical and at-

tractive that an effort to keep the children in school will be made by the parents and will not be resisted by the boys and girls.

After the subject had thus been opened, Mr. Woods began a systematic propaganda for sounder educational foundations. Whatever the occasion or the subject on which he had a chance to speak he set forth the fact that from eighty to eighty-five per cent of the children of Boston were not going beyond the grammar school. His text, chosen to point the finger of fate at this condition, became one of his classic reiterations:

Your chairman said that I had the privilege of addressing you a number of times, and I think each time I have spoken to you I have made use of a quotation from Professor's Marshall's Principles of Economics. I am going to do it again. After discussing the sources of national wealth and productivity he comes to the question of personal productivity, and he says that the laws which govern the birth of genius are inscrutable. Genius appears in all classes of society. He says it is possible that not so large a proportion of geniuses is born among those classes which have not inherited or acquired educational privileges, but as the working classes outnumber the others four or five times it is more than likely that more than half of the geniuses of each generation are born among the working classes. He goes on to say that a large part of this ability is wasted and lost simply because it happens to come from lowly parentage and has no opportunity to develop. He goes on to say that there would be no form of national investment that would increase so quickly and so broadly the national wealth as such improvement in secondary education as would prevent this loss.

To this he added his plea, '*Every* child his own chance,' recognizing in the full development of individual personality and average ability the greatest asset of democratic civilization. On the other hand, he was convinced that all work must be done with a social purpose, that 'only with the man's social bonds in mind can one come to terms with the complete personal life.'

The most critical moment in the lives of the great majority of young people is that when they start out on their vocational

careers. Every responsible parent knows or at least feels this. It must be confessed that most of us who are engaged to some extent in taking the place of the responsible parent to boys and girls of the less resourceful classes have gravely underestimated the strategic meaning of this turning point in their lives. . . . It is becoming clear to an increasing number of social workers that careful analysis and persistent method in launching young people upon their proper work in life is a vital and essential part of the realistic educational scheme which is being built up in connection with the work of neighborhood improvement.

The negative task of preventing unuseful and injurious child employment and the positive task of projecting the child, helpful to himself and the community, out into the work of the world, demand a comprehensive and thoroughgoing system of education. . . . It has in it a logical momentum which comes out of the precise technical endeavor upon which the social worker is engaged.

As he had increasing opportunity for contact with educators he became aware of their resistance. Here and there was one who had convictions and dared to say:

The boy of to-day, trained industrially, may become a great constructive social force, as he is brought in contact with social nurture in the home, social labor in the shop and social administration in the government. He will marry earlier and his wife won't have to work outside the home. He will help to assimilate the great body of foreign-born.[1]

Speaking before the Twentieth Century Club in 1903 in Boston, Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, then President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said: 'Granting much that has been claimed for manual training, it seems nevertheless true that in this country it has done almost nothing to bridge over the difficulties which lie between the untrained apprentice and the skilled artisan'; and he went on to speak of the interest at the Paris Exposition in 1900 in Industrial Education, which 'overshadowed all others.' He offered, however, no suggestions as to the practical steps that might be taken toward its introduction in the United States.

[1] Herbert W. Stebbins.

But the answer of educational opinion from the schools in 1904 was:

> Under the specialized conditions of modern industry the teaching of trades in any comprehensive way in common or other public schools is impracticable. The bogy of trade training is not likely again to raise its head.[1]

But there had been other approaches to the public attention. In 1901, Mr. Woods had contributed to a symposium of the *Boston Globe* as follows:

> From a purely economic, as well as from a moral, point of view, the essential source of the city's future prosperity lies in the productive capacity of its people. Trained capacity, according to very high authorities, never adds less than 25 per cent to a man's value to himself and the community. Sometimes it adds 2500 per cent.
>
> In Boston not over 20 per cent of the children pass beyond the grammar school. We may consider them as receiving fairly adequate training, such as to make their inborn abilities pretty thoroughly available. Eighty per cent of the new generation is to go through life, deprived of at least a very considerable part of the power and resource which it is easily capable of.
>
> There is no sort of public extravagance that can compare with the waste of ability. . . .
>
> I do not believe that any man or group of men in Boston could do an act that would be as much like far-seeing statesmanship than would be a large expenditure of money in ways wisely designed to put every boy and girl in the city, so far as possible, in full possession of the trained ability which nature designed him to have.

He then goes on to suggest four plans for the use of a million dollars:

1. Scholarships for bright boys and girls.
2. To expand the curriculum of the schools of Boston in the direction of industrial training. 'A good part of the best genius in every generation is for manual dexterity and handicraft, and the old-fashioned book-work scheme never even discovers much of such power.'

[1] *Educational Review*, 1904.

3. Technical instruction for young men and women beyond the public school opportunities.

4. Neighborhood guilds, 'to advance in wise ways the physical, industrial, intellectual and moral welfare and progress of the children and young people of the district.'

In 1904 a sequence of events played its part for the cause in Massachusetts. Just as the 'bogy of trade training' was passing out of harm's way in the educational mind, an old man died. His will, which treated his family with apparent eccentricity, gave occasion for newspaper headlines and continued publicity, but one uncontested item would in any case have been of public interest. He left a large sum for technical training for the trades. Very shortly the trustees appointed had asked Mr. Woods to assist in preparing the way for the proper use of this money.

The investigation immediately begun in June, 1904, had for its range:

> An exhaustive study of the literature of the subject. Visits to the most important trade schools and secondary technical institutions in different American cities. An exhaustive statistical study of the industries of Eastern Massachusetts, in order to find what ones employ the largest number of people; followed up by personal visits to a number of the largest manufacturing plants, and conversations with employers representative of the foremost local industries, with the object of finding at first hand the nature of the needs of our local industries for better trained mechanics and artisans.

It included besides an analysis of existing opportunities of industrial education in and around Boston, in order to find out how far present facilities might go in giving students training preliminary to trade school work, and how far in scattered ways there are already provided any of the opportunities which a well-equipped trade school might be expected to furnish.

The large result of this study was to give impetus to a state-wide plan for industrial education. Technical training was in reality one of the foremost questions of the day in economic development. Yet labor leaders, though de-

precating the necessity of 'stealing trades' resulting from the disappearance of the apprentice system, were suspicious of the possible control by employers over trade training. The latter, on the other hand, had been disposed to rely too complacently on the supply of skilled workmen from abroad.

Mr. Woods soon found a keen response and readiness for action among leaders in commerce and industry, and less hostility than anticipated from labor men. He made these points a matter of report in submitting his study for the Wentworth Institute:

> There is a constant and marked increase of interest in industrial education on the part of the employers, both locally and throughout the country. This is apparent in the increased attention paid the subject in manufacturers' trade journals of all sorts, as well as in the well-nigh universal testimony of the individual employers whom one meets.
>
> In connection with the very interesting movement which has been started for the appointment of a State Commission to inquire into the need of industrial education in Massachusetts, I have had the opportunity of conversing with a large number of men in many walks of industrial life as well as with men interested from an educational point of view as to our local needs and the best methods for proceeding to meet these needs.
>
> I have been able in one way and another to find out the point of view of the trade union men of Boston and Massachusetts generally. . . . Upon this point there is considerable new light. The proposal on the part of Governor Douglas that the state should inquire into the matter of trade schools was received more tolerantly on their part because he had given abundant proofs of a friendly attitude toward trade unions. . . .
>
> The entrance of a growing body of trade school graduates into the trade unions will have a most important effect upon the labor question. It will tend to cause the trade union to establish definite standards of good work. Such men will have a steadying influence upon the whole conduct of industry. They will greatly help to put dealings between employers and workmen upon a peaceable, business-like basis. Trade-school graduates will be less likely to be unemployed, less likely to be unreasonable, more likely to be successful in all reasonable demands. The more

thoughtful trade unionists already see that in this direction lie all the best possibilities of organized labor.

The general economic and social value will be very great. It will take many poor but promising boys of immigrant stock at the first turning of the ways. It will prevent them from going into useless, if not demoralizing, juvenile occupations, which after a few years leave them practically where they were as far as preparation for life work is concerned. It will divert not a few from careers of corrupt politics or dubious forms of business, from immorality, perhaps from crime. It will lead them into ways of intelligence, honesty, self-respect . . . it will make them American citizens of a type which is one of our chief sources of national pride.

On the other hand, there is good evidence to be found in the make-up of the classes in the best trade schools that such schools are going to attract to the skilled trades once more the sons of intelligent and thrifty American families. Such boys, of recent years, have considered it socially discreditable to be manual workers, and have entered the less useful and less remunerative calling of clerk, small trader or indifferent professional man.

The enlarged acquaintance which the study gave him brought recognition of his informed judgment and practical leadership in furthering the principle 'that in a community whose industrial future must depend on refined types of industry, the well-trained, superior workman must be one of the chief cornerstones of its prosperity.'

A notable group of business and professional men supplemented the Governor's proposal by a petition to the State Legislature for a five-year commission to study the subject of industrial education.

A gathering representing educational, manufacturing, and labor interests, which met to consider the Governor's recommendation, proved strongly in favor of 'taking up the whole question of Industrial Education in a far more serious and systematic way' and appointed a committee, of which Mr. Woods was chairman, to 'collect and publish information' and to take the necessary measures for the proper advocacy of the need at the legislative hearing. Thus the study made for the Wentworth Trustees came at

once into large usefulness in providing the basis upon which the subject could be intelligently discussed at the outset. It was seen to be well enough in hand to secure effective support for a commission to report in 1906, one year later.

Mr. Woods had learned the importance of being explicit before a legislative committee sitting in public hearings. In presenting the case for industrial education he showed that its adherents were to be found in all walks of life and though lacking a full measure of academic support, it was not only desirable but a want becoming articulate in the minds of working people.

> The reasons why so many of the bright and capable children end their education at the grammar school are chiefly two — first, both the children and their parents consider the existing scheme of the public school education to be unreal and ill-adapted to the practical needs of life; secondly, in many instances parents are too poor to provide for their children beyond the period of compulsory education. . . . Even among the less skilled and less intelligent parents belonging to the nationalities that established themselves here a generation ago, there is a great concern lest their children, if exposed to the competition of the great mass of new immigrants, be driven to the wall. For this reason, sometimes in the most unexpected quarters, there is anxious inquiry on the part of the parents as to how their children may be practically trained for some skilled occupation. Among the more skilled class of workmen, the increasing necessity of intelligence and training is a thing which they know from personal experience. Often it is by bitter experience that they have learned the meaning of the new demand. In any case, they are under a strong stimulus to see to it that, if possible, their boys are prepared as adequately as may be for the new conditions. . . .
>
> In Boston, at a low estimate, not less than 12,000 pupils attend the evening classes designed directly to fit them more thoroughly for earning their livelihood. It has been estimated that one out of every seven of the young men in the city between the ages of 16 and 35 attends some evening instruction. It must be said, however, that existing equipments are in nearly every case exceedingly inadequate. In many cases the instruction is, to say the least, not of a high order. . . . Here is the potential demand for

the proper training with adequate facilities and capable instructors of the successive new detachments of boys leaving the grammar schools. . . .

It was hoped that the inquiry of a commission would include

the special question of Agriculture, Manufacture and Commerce, as, for example, whether it is not possible to introduce instruction in the fundamental principles of the science and practice of agriculture into the schools of the agricultural districts . . .; whether it is not possible to increase the extent and value of manufactures by a wider technical and artistic training, and what classes of manufactures are most in need of such educational assistance; whether a more extended knowledge of the staple materials of the goods our merchants sell, and of their processes of manufacture, will not increase the value of salesmen and buyers.

The primary causes rendering such an inquiry desirable were:

That natural passing of the industries of crude production to more favored localities, leaving the industries which especially required skilled labor; the rapid increase of specialization in the processes of manufacture, narrowing the field of individual work and increasing production at the expense of inventiveness and adaptability; the impossibility under present conditions of properly instructing workmen and apprentices in the shops without serious interruption to the business of the manufacturer; the necessity of supplying this instruction either in the public schools or in schools designed for the purpose.

After the commission was appointed, Mr. Woods had the privilege of acting as temporary secretary until a permanent appointment could be made. His 'experience as an investigator into industrial conditions and a constructive thinker on industrial education enabled him to render efficient service to the commission from the very start,' said their report.

In framing the final legislation to provide permanently for the new system of education, it was important that the

argument of educators against additions to the existing curriculum should be met in all fairness. It was recognized that there was danger in seriously overburdening school principals and the usual administration force. On the other hand, the local school committees in Massachusetts have much independent power; the State Board of Education was merely advisory. There was no strong conviction in these bodies to push forward a new line of action and no machinery for creating standard types of schools. There was also the necessity of beginning at the practical industrial end of the problem so that instruction would be acceptable to employers and workmen alike. These were the horns of the dilemma which disturbed school administrators, but it was exactly the kind of problem that Mr. Woods enjoyed working out in coöperation with others. He saw these facts, not as obstacles, but rather as guideposts to a fresh approach. A successful strategy was devised whereby the permanent commission could itself establish and maintain industrial schools 'with the coöperation and consent of the municipality involved,' and the principle of subsidy already existing in Massachusetts was utilized so that the State could provide for a part of the expense for industrial schools. This principle was later adopted by the Federal Government in pushing forward similar developments for the well-being of the people of the whole country.

There remained the practical first step in the experiment. Much depended upon the manner in which the first city should make use of the new power. In company with the labor member of the commission, Mr. Woods arranged conferences in two of the leading manufacturing cities outside of the strictly eastern Massachusetts industries.

In Worcester, the study for the Wentworth Institute had already brought him in contact with Mr. Milton Higgins, 'whose practical experience in industrial education is hardly excelled by that of any man in the country, who regarded trade schools as likely to be more important than technical colleges.' There, too, he turned to an Amherst

classmate, Charles Marble, a manufacturer and member of the School Board, who became a strong ally of the cause. At his house the first conference was held which led to the establishment of the Worcester Trade School. In characteristic fashion, having brought the necessary personal factors together by whom results could be obtained, Mr. Woods dropped into the background of the talk, giving only occasional guidance to the discussion to make sure of some practical next step. In this way he devoted three months to going about through the State.

He gave addresses, consulted with employers, workingmen and educators, and gathered information from all sources in preparation for detailed work of building up a state system of educational training which was soon under way.[1]

When the future of industrial education looked reasonably assured in Massachusetts, Mr. Woods, with the same facility for stepping back that he could use in conferences, withdrew from active participation in the movement, though a promising national organization for its promotion was just getting under way. The claims of the varied developments of the settlement and its neighborhood held priority in his program of action.

He was, however, for a time, one of the members of the Board of Managers of 'The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education' and called attention to a point upon which he continued to be insistent in Child Labor restriction, that

Every effort in restricting child labor, would logically require a step in extending compulsory education. It would seem that the advocates of industrial education ought to be a part in any further movement for extending the period of compulsory education, so as to preëmpt an additional time for their purpose. This is perhaps a far cry, but it would seem highly important that an organized movement for industrial education should carefully avoid being limited to the discussion of changes in the school curriculum, or even the creation of new types of schools. Such a movement ought to start from a sense of the broad eco-

[1] *Settlement Horizon*, 216.

nomic and social needs and prospects of the community as a whole.

There remained in his agenda the advocacy of the broader concern of the settlement faith centered in the discussion of the cultural influences in vocational training.

CHAPTER XIX

DREDGING OUT THE RESIDUUM

In the lapse of a decade a new stage is set for the action of community life; an awaited achievement may be forthcoming, but it rests with some actor in the drama to seize the due moment of circumstance.

Ten years after the panic of 1893, the problem of unemployment was still an active concern, though prosperity had opened the door in 1898. Confused with it was still also the issue of the unemployable and the shiftless slack of labor which drifted over the country. The tramp problem was as acute an evil in Massachusetts at the beginning of the twentieth century as it had been for nearly fifty years.

Of drunkenness Mr. Woods did not hesitate to say:

> The truth is that in the matter of the treatment of drunkenness we are at the present moment in many respects not much in advance of the chaotic ignorance and cruelty which characterized the treatment of criminals and insane before the days of John Howard and Dorothy Dix.

While he was dealing, as we have seen, in a specific way with the release of powers in the oncoming generation, he was with equal concern giving direction to the attack upon these demoralizing conditions of social environment. The tramp and the drunkard were both cause and effect in vicious circles of degrading influence carrying the infection of dissolute habits into any social contacts open to them. Youthful loafers could easily be misled. In the ten years from 1903 to 1913 legislative enactments were secured affecting both problems. As in the case of industrial education far-reaching influences were given momentum. Alleviation of misery was worked for by comprehensive measures, giving the more subtle personal influences, the edge tools of social work, a freer use for constructive service.

When he became actively associated with Mr. Joseph Lee in the Massachusetts Civic League, Mr. Woods took with him the question of dredging out the social residuum. 'At the suggestion of Mr. Robert A. Woods a committee was formed during the winter to consider the question of how to mitigate the tramp nuisance.' This was in 1903; in 1904 he was himself made chairman of a new committee of the League on drunkenness. He headed a similar committee for the Massachusetts Conference of Charities and Correction.

By 1905 plans were under way for 'a more humane and scientific policy for dealing with drunkards.' A new law provided for probation for first offenders without court procedure and another, to prevent the imprisonment of persons unable to pay small fines of whom several thousand had been committed every year; 'they lost their situations, were thrown into the worst companionships, and, when discharged, bore the prison stigma.' Mr. Woods advocated, further, a system of steadily increasing rigor for the inveterate drunkard whose records warranted long periods of confinement, so as to protect his family, the public, and himself from fixed dangerous tendencies. His committee began agitating meantime for more exact hospital treatment of the incipient stages.

These matters were held somewhat in abeyance during 1906 while all the interested social agencies were coöperating to secure the Juvenile Court and to deal more effectively with juvenile delinquency.

As a member of the Committee on Tramps, Mr. Woods found in its chairman, Mr. Francis Bardwell, an inventive partner after his own heart, who knew the situation from experience in a country town. So effective was the strategy of their campaign that in a few years the hobo burden in Massachusetts disappeared. The remembrance of its terror has to be summoned out of a now distant past.

One picture may be drawn in statistics which come down from the years closing the Civil War when Boston provided night's lodgings to wayfaring men in its public sta-

tions to the number of nearly 19,000. In the State the count nearly doubled in a year by adding 23,000. There was from then on an increase of upward of 3000 a year until the great financial panic of 1873 is noted as more than trebling the figures for Boston, and bringing the State over the two hundred thousand mark. Boston was never quite so bad after the Wayfarer's Lodge began its work in 1879, though the year of 1893 is in the picture with a rise of at least 10,000. The acuteness of unemployment that year made the State figures larger by 50,000. The legislation secured by the Civic League showed its effect in a reduction of the figures for the State to less than 10,000. In one town alone the number of tramps provided for was reduced in two years from 1800 to 80. The more efficient work of the Wayfarer's Lodge and a special officer secured for Boston kept the record there about the 25,000 mark, many of whom were *bona fide* unemployed.

Another picture lies in the memory of forty years ago and calls to mind a little girl at home alone in a country town. It brings back moments of terror when a knock at the back door meant a hungry vagrant. The unkempt aspect, accentuated by a beard's growth of several days, and the loose-hung, hand-me-down garments, was both repulsive and incomprehensible. Could this creature so gross be, indeed, a human being? Pity knocked at the heart, but fear hurriedly slammed the door and ran to find the food demanded, then thrust out a paper bag containing the sandwich, rudely made by a trembling and inexperienced hand. Later, when panicky heartbeats had subsided and one slid out to play, it was to find good bread cast aside from the dole that had caused such perturbation. The kindly grandmother of another household, exercising ancient rites of hospitality, ruled that he who knocks should be fed, though the full ritual observance was curtailed for these wayfaring men and they sat so far below the salt that they were not permitted to enter the house. The repast satisfied to the extent that, in the cheering calligraphy of the hobo fraternity upon gate-post hard-by, the place was

honorably designate to knights of the road passing that way or making a special détour, perhaps, on hearsay, to enjoy the abundant provisions of pie at Thanksgiving.

What was the meaning of it all? The story, indeed, goes back into ancient history and thence was traced and brought down to date by a South End House colleague. Others have made a study of life on the road itself. To Mr. Woods it had been, meantime,

> one of our special interests for many years to rouse the community to the importance of thoroughgoing methods in dealing with tramps. This problem has now [1904] been taken up by a strong representative organization; and the prevalence of highway assault and robbery is making the tramp curse so unmistakable that much progress has already been made.

It was important to align sentiment against what was in reality a parasitic system and a form of terrorism, and to withdraw from it the sentimental support which its appeal to charity created. After much cogitating the happy thought crossed his mind that another appeal to the public, and especially to the women's clubs, could be effectively made by showing that it was in truth 'a woman's question.' The use of this simple paradox made clear that the real objects for sympathy were not the men of the road who could be given help some better way, but the women and children of the lonely country side, on the isolated farms, who carried a heavy burden of fear. With this new emphasis he went to one of the annual meetings of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and was successful in enlisting their aid for the legislation desired as well as in creating the public opinion necessary to the enforcement of the new laws. It was one of the first occasions when the women's clubs brought the moral strength and conviction of numbers to bear upon social and economic well-being.

By 1910 the committee of the Civic League was able to report:

> The universal practice throughout the country towns in Massachusetts is to refuse to put up tramps unless they are brought

into court the next morning as vagrants. . . . It may be safely said that there are at present in Massachusetts no tramp camps or rendezvous where tramps congregate. . . . The state is fairly well rid of the professional tramp. . . . The sentiment of the people throughout the state seems to be heartily in favor of the procedure now adopted, and this is coupled with a feeling of satisfaction at being measurably well rid of the tramp evil. There has been a noticeable diminution in the number of crimes of the lesser sort occurring in out of the way places and towns.

The degrading ways which these wandering beggars cultivated were thus removed from among the temptations of boys and young men of not too stable character, and the toll of charity materially diminished.

The device was simple enough if it could be uniformly applied: 'A decent tramp house where work is required helps the honest workingman who is in a hard place, and keeps away the real tramp or criminal.' Added to this a special state officer to help out law enforcement in small communities was provided. The wise administration of the State Institution at Bridgewater, which was another result of this program of legislation, has meant a more humane understanding and treatment for many vagrants who are not wholly responsible for their ways of life.

CHAPTER XX

ASSOCIATED ACTION: SETTLEMENT FEDERATION

The two years 1906–1908 were especially fruitful both in establishing surer foundations for the settlements and in bringing social principles to mature expression.

For a commemorative volume, presented to Dr. Charles Garman by some of his former students at Commencement in 1906, Mr. Woods rewrote his material on 'Social Values' under the title 'Democracy a New Unfolding of Human Power.' At the beginning of the same year he had read before the Harvard Ethical Society a paper called 'Social Work: A New Profession'; and in the following year he gave an address before the American Ethical Union entitled 'Ethical Construction as Preparation for Ethical Instruction.'

He was at the time engaged in creating an association among the settlements of Boston and looking forward to the possibility of a similar plan for those of the country as a whole. Thus, while his mind ranged philosophically he brought his ideas to painstaking application in his own relationships, no matter how modest the promised results might be. He believed in the effectiveness of associated action; not only by federation could the work of all the settlements be made to count for more in the city as a whole, but each would have a greater value in its own district through the strengthening of the common accord. Furthermore, since to train others in the art of association is essentially of the settlement program, the principles of such social construction must be understood as affecting both leaders and members of any group:

> Working with people rather than for them is psychological as well as democratic. . . . The people must lay hold on truth with power in order to learn at all. Those who would teach the people must be in and of that power. The building-up through vital participation must be the beginning and end of social service, and

must more and more be seen to be the largest element in conscious and determinate moral education. The mind has its being in the fulfillment of relationships. Social progress does not come of itself. . . . It requires to be directed and promoted systematically and with intention. . . .

Even at a very recent date Mr. Woods had occasion to urge that social workers should cultivate a greater degree of social understanding among themselves. He was not unaware that what to him was clearly a fundamental philosophy was but cloudily conceived by many others in the same field. We have his own testimony as to this situation:

> The most striking thing that one remembers with regard to the history of social work was the extreme strangeness of it. To the minds of all sorts of people it seemed impossible to explain what one was about. The commonplace of to-day, of not merely remedying the difficulties, but of trying to get at foundation causes and of building up from the foundation and raising the high and noble structure of reorganized social life on a community basis, it was really quite difficult to get some of the most enlightened people who had been engaged in older forms of social service to understand.

It was necessary in large measure to begin by helping people to get results and to let the formulation of principles come out of the experience. This was in general his method especially characteristic of his working relationships in the federation of settlements.

In simplest terms the principle which he hoped to see worked out was that the whole is more than the sum of its parts — the driving power of a loyal group of people working together is greater than the sum of individual achievements. After a certain point the individual settlement would be practically absorbed in a painstaking, serviceable round of little tasks which alone would never bring the larger gains inherent in their experience. Facts and achievements needed to be pooled and worked upon by the combined forces of all the neighborhood houses to give them the power to bring real progress.

Mr. Woods in reviewing the first ten years of the Boston Social Union said:

> We have tried to introduce as many of the leaves out of the industrial trust as we could. . . . The great advantage of the steel corporation over the independent corporations lies in the ability of the steel corporation to make quick and comprehensive comparisons as to processes. . . . The Union tries to give all the houses the advantage of the best experience that some special leader at some one house has. We try to bring forward and dignify those members of settlement staffs who are specializing. We have followed the principle in the way of securing for groups of houses skilled leaders whom no one house could have for itself.

His own faculty for coöperation helped to bridge the gap between a high degree of individualism and the need for associated action. He gave a lead without imposing leadership. He had a way of making concrete proposals upon which the group could unite. His plan for the Boston Social Union offered thirty-four such possibilities of joint activity. He encouraged small measures if they had a spark of reality and would not suffer their contemptuous diminution because of their littleness, but rather made much of them by showing their potential values.

In conference he was especially receptive to a new idea and would begin the development of its possibilities on the spot. His face at such times was delightful to watch. A quizzical expression, 'the slow concession of a smile,' as Mr. Lee described it, would be quickly followed by one of direct attention on the promulgator as the thesis was unfolded. As practical possibilities began to dawn, his interest would be surely noticed in the brightening of the eye, the changing expression of the mouth, as if it were all a delightful conspiracy. But woe to the originator if the whole theme had not been thought out. One would have to be put through mental gymnastics to keep up with the range of consideration which had been stirred in his sympathetic following out of all the implications.

Perhaps he might have made more of an impression in some quarters if he had developed his facility for coining

technical terms for the new profession, but in this he was as simple as he was specific:

In the early days the few settlements felt pretty lonely and often they were not quite sure where they were headed for. Our organization began and has always continued as a doing affair and not merely for talking. If it has been of use that has been its chief value. All the discussion has been about things to be done as a settlement federation as such. We have had to get clearly before our minds the things that the group could certainly do better than any individual constituent. As between doing a much needed work and choosing interesting lines of work one must select those kinds of work that appeal to the big needs of the total local community in which one is situated. That is one reason why settlement work in Boston seems a bit commonplace because we have held the individual houses closely to their jobs.

As the time approached for gathering the Boston settlements into a comprehensive metropolitan 'Social Union,' the logic of association had already begun to bear fruit in the smaller organization of the district which Mr. Woods had been fostering. He saw reason for encouragement which he was always glad to pass on to others and so reports:

The tendency to act concertedly rather than at cross-purposes is constantly growing stronger among social workers of all sorts, though there is undoubtedly much to gain as yet in the willingness of this or that agency to yield some of the logic of its particular scheme for the sake of a large system. . . . The South End Social Union has reached a better degree of mutual understanding and of capacity for united effort than ever before.

The following letter gives specific illustration of throwing the combined forces against a particular problem. It refers likewise to a situation with which he was to become closely involved:

Feb. 6, 1907

Licensing Board of the City of Boston,
GENTLEMEN:

We the undersigned, officially representing the South End Social Union — a federation of thirteen different agencies for

neighborhood betterment, whose work covers nearly the entire division of the city from Kneeland and Eliot streets to Roxbury, and whose annual expenditures for such work amount to upwards of $100,000 — respectfully petition that in the assignment of liquor licenses for the coming year only such number of licenses shall be allowed in the South End as constitute a ratio to the licenses for the entire city the same as the ratio of the population of the South End to the city as a whole.

It has been represented in the public press that it is the policy of your board to assign an increased number of licenses to the suburban sections of the city, where a large vote in favor of licenses is cast. We respectfully submit that the logic of this step is to decrease the number of licenses in a district like the South End, which is almost as purely residential as are the suburban districts, though filled up with the homes of people of restricted means. This part of the city does vote for license, and is of course prepared to accept the full results of its action. It does not, however, vote for an allotment of licenses far beyond its normal quota; and we are satisfied that, whatever disposition might be made of this surplus number of licenses, the people of the South End would vote, if allowed, in a very large majority not to have them allotted to this district.

His active participation with the Massachusetts Civic League, meantime, and the successful issue of several items in the program for state-wide benefit led him to see 'the promise of a kind of moralized commonwealth' in which the League served as a connecting ganglion between the settlements of the city and the village improvement societies, all bent upon enlightened social service.

The work involved in social service called for definition commensurate with the direction of democratic development; it must be put on a plane worthy of high professional claims and of the desires of the educated man to touch and affect what is vital in the life of his times:

> How can one be satisfied that one is not going to miss the whole point so far as the realities of the world of one's own day are concerned? To have had elaborate educational privileges, it would appear, gives no certain assurance on this point. The one indispensable way in which to understand contemporary history is to understand contemporary people.

The new type of effort called social work gets its distinctive quality in seeking first to understand, and secondly to affect the problems of the community by means of direct contact with all sorts and conditions of men. . . . The institutions of industry and culture, enormously progressive as they may be within certain lines, and perhaps on account of that very progress, come to have but a partial and ineffectual grasp upon what is in the last analysis the only issue, the properly proportioned and distributed welfare of the entire community. . . .

In the effort to make rapprochement with things as they now are, there are two great social forces to be understood and at first hand grappled with — democracy and cosmopolitanism. It is probable that the knowledge of these forces to which we have as yet attained is in the relation that the prelude bears to the play. Their great developments lie not in the past, but in the present and the future. They must be studied on the move. The old way of seeing a boat-race was to sit still and see the race disappear in the distance. The new way is to see it by racing with it. That is the only way in which the swift and sudden movement of these social forces can be estimated and affected. . . . Social work stands for an effort, on the part of those who represent some type of privilege or resource, to study, and in experimental ways to serve, the human needs and desires which are the urgent forces back of this great tendency. . . . It means through such experiments to lead the way toward a further and broader adjustment with the life of the people; toward mutualization, so to speak, on the part, not only of the government, but of the university and the industrial corporation. . . .

. . . Politically America is a federal union. In its racial character and its type of civilization in general it must be that also. Social work has to do with the building-up of a natural federation among all our different racial groups, which will in reasonable degree preserve all that is valuable in the heredity and traditions of each type, but will link all types together into a universal yet coherent and distinctively American nationality. . . . No mistake can be greater than to think that social work has to do merely with sporadic labors of compassion, with the drudgery of endeavoring to uplift a few individuals only out of the hopeless social residuum, while the great collective forces continue all undisturbed to develop, directly or as by-products, their train of social evils. . . .

This new type of effort stands for the fact that in times of

peace the same high patriotic devotion may be as absolutely required as in times of war. It calls upon young men to enter upon a definite and absorbing career of public service at those points where the public need is greatest. . . definitely to create new agencies, new institutions, new laws, which will in large ways actually shut off at their source the influences which produce great social miseries and iniquities . . . to reduce or even to abolish whole types of injustice . . . to make it possible for the great masses of children to grow up into healthy adult life . . . to overcome those economic handicaps which often prevent children of talent, or even of genius, among the working-classes from realizing their capacities. . . .

Social work . . . deals with advancing historical forces. It is not, indeed, concerned with distant Utopias, but on the other hand it leaves behind the ethical perspective of the past, even of the immediate past, except so far as to preserve respect for yesterday's motive in forming a postulate for the work of tomorrow. The idealism of the social worker is of the opportunist, possibilist type. He seeks to take each successive next step toward a better social order, which he dares to dream of, but does not expect to see let down from the skies. . . .

CHAPTER XXI

THE CONTEMPORARY CITIZEN

The essence of citizenship is fellow-citizenship.

R. A. W.

The close of fifteen years in the South End brought to Robert Woods a fresh assurance both as to the task of the settlement and of his attachment to the city. He had become in respect to his affections unreservedly a citizen of Boston. There were evidences, too, that he was by way of being accepted as one of the resourceful leaders in his own immediate community. His appreciation of this response is given in his usual impersonal record of the 'South End House':

> Those of the residents who have demonstrated that they have any sort of capacity for specific forms of service to the neighborhood or for leadership in unaffected neighborly intercourse, meet with the best kind of discriminating appreciation. . . . By many considerate people they are by this time accepted out of hand as disinterested democratic neighbors. This conception is somehow one that is always likely to be grasped by a larger proportion of simple, hard-working people than of the prosperous and sophisticated.

We were constantly more aware of the importance of making our home in the locality of our interests. Our identification with the life of the district in its various phases had both for ourselves and for others a reality that would not otherwise have been possible. We contented ourselves very happily with our Bond Street domicile, improving it in this period by moving into the next house on the corner where two thirds of the thirty-two windows brought to city dwellers a lavish supply of sunshine.

Out-of-door life in some form was, however, a need that had to be met, the more necessary the year through that there was no specified time for vacations. There were

reasons for active attention to affairs in summer, when others were away, as insistent as in winter.

So we decided to buy a farm within easy reach of the city to which we could get away at any season. The matter of running the farm was incidental until we found that it could quite easily run us with its claims for time and attention. Several summers had already been spent in Concord, at a commuting distance, in the home of Miss Perkins, during her summer absence. Her library had been a source of deep enjoyment and the house with its lineaments of the eighteenth century seemed pervaded with the serenity of spirit and nobility of thought which we found in her companionship. An ancestral claim and happy associations of youthful days gave me a particular affection for Concord in which Mr. Woods shared, though his own first acquaintance had begun at the Reformatory. As we looked about for an outlying place, Mr. Woods rejected several locations because in the landscape could be seen the cupola of that institution.

Finally we went to the neighboring town of Acton and became farmer folk, for five years gathering a rich harvest of pleasure and learning. Our membership in the Grange meant not a little in broadening our sympathetic understanding of people.

Mr. Woods's chief contribution to the management of our forty acres was his leisurely enjoyment when there, his genial appreciation of productive activities, his philosophy in the face of adversities such as the death of a favorite heifer when Barney, the custodian and friend of bird and beast, felt as free to weep in his presence as I to seek similar comfort on his shoulder. The exploits of the cows in defeating the restraining purposes of men were a source of much amusement to him and he always enjoyed a serious disquisition which I was fond of giving on the fact that cows have a sense of humor. His choice of occupation was potato culture, begun seasonably at eleven in the morning. Once, when we took some worthy specimens to our old friend Miss McCarthy, they were like gold in her eyes as

she murmured, 'And he dug thim with his own hands.' The farm was a wonderful place for mid-winter outings of the residents of the House and much other simple hospitality.

A calendar of realizations was slowly being made that from time to time showed the slow current of social progress. Something could be seen coming of the principle 'that municipal government should be serviceable to the conscious needs of the people,' in the working out of which the leaders of the settlements 'have striven both by precept and example to show that this service must be for the people as a whole and not for political favorites.'

The Massachusetts Civic League offered the coöperation needed for state-wide results; Mr. Woods gave assistance to Mr. Joseph Lee in the program for establishing playgrounds; one of the men on a South End House fellowship made the study of newsboys leading to the legislation which placed the licensing of those under fourteen with the School Committee. Both Mr. Woods and Mr. Lee were actively pushing the study of medical inspection in the schools, with the result that in 1908 they could point to twenty school nurses, a pioneer undertaking in the great health campaign which from then on became so important a part of the work of the combined settlement forces to which their federation consummated in this year added increasing momentum. The establishment of the Juvenile Court and the securing of probation officers for children had been attained by the coöperation of all the social agencies. A newcomer in the ranks of Boston social workers found it an almost general practice for boards of directors to inquire as to Mr. Woods's opinion and judgment in all such matters.

This work for the modernizing of the aims of municipal administration and of bringing it into explicit contact with human needs was constantly being faced with the difficulties of dealing with bad housing. Upon this stubborn problem there was constant pressure in coöperation, as in the first years, with the Twentieth Century Club.

The many failures with which the path has been strewn could not be laid wholly to the chicanery of city hall. Business interests were intricately involved.

The hope of drawing younger men into enlightened public service found realization when Joseph Eastman, holding the Amherst College fellowship at the South End House, became, at Mr. Woods's suggestion, secretary of the Public Franchise League and thus began his career in the developing field of government control over public utilities. Mr. Eastman is now chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

A recurring misery came with the city elections in Boston, when the practical student of municipal affairs repeatedly witnessed the results of the failure of American civic intelligence to grasp and apply the fundamental teaching of the facts. Mr. Woods brought forward whenever possible this diagnosis:

> The public life of Boston is different from that of other American cities in two rather striking respects. In the first place only half or, indeed, rather less than half of the whole population of the real city of Boston is included within the city limits. Boston is more and more, for political purposes, a downtown city and the tenement house population living in a belt just outside the business district controls the tendency of the city government beyond any real chance of contest. The reason for this is to be found in the New England conservativeness. The suburbs of Boston, most of which are not included in the city, are old towns with traditions in some cases extending back to Puritan days. They have what they consider satisfactory governments. They have good schools. They go on very peaceably and contentedly, and refuse absolutely to be absorbed into a great metropolitan city. Now, the fact that Boston is a downtown city and is so thoroughly in the grasp of the tenement house population means that it is extremely difficult to get a leverage for municipal reform.

If the principle of the Federal Union had been applied to the metropolitan area composed of forty cities and towns, the South End would have benefited in the control of some of its local affairs:

The reëstablishment of a degree of local self-government in this great district is positively necessary, not only for the political training of citizens, but for securing the local identity and local loyalty out of which the feeling of social responsibility springs. American democracy does not contemplate the formation of vast, sprawling, formless masses of population governed from a single centre. Great cities, under social as well as political necessity, must restore to their local districts some of the old village powers.

Mr. Woods drew a familiar picture of the period when speaking to the Chicago Chamber of Commerce:

We have a mayor who, I am inclined to think, is quite unique among the chief executives of American cities. He has reached his present position by exhausting all the possibilities of the ward boss and by advancing through successive steps in political power gained through every sort of political chicanery which goes with the work and the life of the political boss. At the same time he is a man of inexhaustible capacity for work. . . . He has done many things to meet the concrete needs of the mass of people in a great city. But his list of services rendered is made up on the whole, of trifling, showy things. When it comes to a vital matter which affects the welfare, the pocket of every citizen for generations, he is not there. . . . If all the corporation officers, bankers, etc., who have had dealings with him were subpœnaed and compelled to tell the truth or go to jail, he would go down like a pack of cards. . . . He has demanded the discharge of men who did not personally please, and has expressed profane contempt for a department which would not take on his personal followers because there was no need of men.

In spite of such political and otherwise influential lions in the path, there began to be an enthusiasm for the true city of Boston animating to constructive undertakings. Even the chief political lion roared, 'A bigger, better, busier Boston.' In coöperation with the various groups interested in the different phases of the complicated life of the city, Mr. Woods was drawn upon for his balance of judgment and optimism in fresh adventure where results could not be gauged in advance and the importance of which no review of the time would be able to estimate.

A volume of collected essays contemplated at this time would have dealt with municipal reform as a question of the constituency — of the electorate — of the rearing of the citizen of the average mass. It was a matter of potentiality depending on the individual's improvement in health, general intelligence, character and courage, and in a better understanding of his own problem of life. Beyond this was the important field of training him to live and work with others, the art of association. A working program was always 'taking the practical next step as shown by the outstanding conditions, and creating a leavening influence in the midst of the various groupings of the people themselves which will make that next upward step a natural and inevitable one.'

The good citizen who is primarily a good neighbor was to him a definite objective for the social worker. There were the two approaches, that of influencing personal character and the other of altering environment. In both there were the preventive and constructive ways of working for which varied methods were required. The removal of degeneracy called for a sweeping force in a state-wide activity, but delicate and subtle arts came into service in the constructive process of educating the individual according to his special genius and ability and of utilizing the network of neighborhood relations for shaping penetrating moral effects.

At the Sagamore Beach Conference in 1907 he reviewed 'Social Progress in the Last Twenty-Five Years':

> Men in all walks of life are learning to see the meaning of their occupations in social service, and are deciding that the private office, quite as well as the public office, is a public trust.
>
> This whole scheme of effort during the last quarter of a century has distinctively and finally turned its chief attention from the treatment of the final outcropping of the evils of poverty, crime and abnormal living generally to the sources out of which such evils spring, and the organization of such effort will, as far as possible, cut off the influences which lead to social evils.
>
> The whole tendency of things has been deeply animated and

made general by the amazing economic growth of the country since 1880. Successful beyond all possibilities of foresight on its protective side, this economic development contains the gravest dangers to the nation as a whole and to every individual in it on the distributive side. The highly intensified concentration of the power of capital has gradually brought about a highly complicated system of organized labor which has its abuses, but which is absolutely essential to the maintenance of the standard of life of the workingman and his family, and therefore essential to our national political and moral welfare.

In 1907, Mr. Woods's services to the Bath Department were terminated following upon the death of Mr. Thomas Lane a few months before. The deep impression made by Mr. Lane's reënforcing sagacity was carried into action thenceforward in many practical ways in confident efforts for that enlightened citizenship in which Mr. Woods saw Mr. Lane's distinction:

> One's first inclination is to feel that we shall not look on his like again; but the deeper view is that a citizen so normal and so fit, once produced under the actual present-day environment of the electorate of the city, cannot but be the forerunner of others, many others in the better generations that are to come.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SOUTH END HOUSE, 1903–1908

The function of the optimist is quickly to seize the first signs of opportunity to push toward fresh achievement.

Thus it was that the Head of the South End House, while watching over the gains already made, was ready to urge on to new endeavor, and if the prospect appeared somewhat discouraging occasionally, the more reason for adventure. Fresh resource was brought into the working group of residents by as judicious a choice of its members as possible, subject always to the severe restrictions of a very limited budget. Like the Israelites in Egypt, we made bricks without straw a good deal of the time, but our bondage was the thrall of a common enthusiasm.

The growth of the settlement staff meant an increase in specialized tasks. First in this development had been a resident who devoted the major part of his time to the boys' clubs and the interests growing out of them. The women's group with its own residence had been the natural outcome of the relations with the women of the neighborhood, with the young girls and little children, that they, too, might be on that same personal footing as was the case with the boys from the time of the first evening calls so eagerly noted in letters to Dr. Tucker. Mr. Woods expressed his satisfaction with the combined staff of men and women in a reference to the opportunities for women in social work:

> Not the least interesting aspect is in its bringing men and women together in a common work in which their coöperation is based on an unmistakably sound and real type of equality between the sexes. It is clear on the face of it to the men in such a group of workers that the women have a large range of power and a vital authority not based on any theory, but on the facts of the ages, affecting the whole scheme of tasks in hand and the largest results that can come from them. On the other hand, the women

workers have that first-hand understanding of men in their distinctive activities which comes from working in coördination with them.

Within the group of residents as it grew both in numbers and in quality, and kind of service, the Head of the House began to differentiate between 'officers of the line' and 'of the staff.' The former carried on the work that had become sufficiently organized to be considered as established departments; the latter struck out into experiments sometimes scarcely recognizable as belonging to their field of work by the settlement fraternity; such was the approach to the lodging-house district. The initiative of all was intentionally stimulated to ascertain facts by personal experience, to set them forth concretely, and to develop ways of bringing the resources of a more abundant life to bear upon them so that what was inherently good might flourish through freer expression and encouragement, or that by substitution the better way might become possible. To one resident who had said, 'I have brought you a report,' he thus characteristically commented, 'This is not a report; nothing is a report that doesn't include the future.'

When some one was considering whether or not to take up residence in the settlement, and the decision was of special importance both to the House and to the individual, the latter asked Mr. Woods as to coming, 'What would it be for?' he made the surprising reply, 'Why, that is for you to find out.' He did, however, suggest broadly under such circumstances what the neighborhood situation offered in its claims for service. He particularly refrained from making hard-and-fast assignments of the time of the men who came on fellowships as graduate students. This was often difficult for those who had lived for many years on a curriculum not of their own making. If the pressure had been less heavy on his own time, he might well have given somewhat more attention to the first flounderings of those just getting under way, but a precise direction of education did not interest him. He himself had survived the poignant experiences of Andover days and had rather enjoyed his

own flounderings at Toynbee Hall. One of these young men, speaking from his own experience, advised a later comer 'to camp on Woods's desk and make him talk; stop in and bore him to death and you'll get a lot out of it.' 'For those who had initial carrying power he was a wonderful trainer,' said another.

To the resident or any associate in any of his fields of interest who came with fresh light and suggestion, he gave the fullest attention and was ready to supplement freely out of his own resourceful mind. But there were many occasions when he knew his rôle to be that of listener; his courteous exercise of patience in rehearings of evidence and argument was sometimes put to the test. One of the younger residents commented on the earnestness with which Mr. Woods could attend to the other fellow's fresh discovery of some knowledge with which he himself must have been familiar for at least a dozen years. Once, when asked by one of the residents who had much to do with visitors to see the settlement, whether he often encountered people with intelligent questions, he replied, 'Our visitors who come to see the South End House really come to tell us what they are doing.' But he did not underrate the particular service that was rendered by sympathetic attention: 'Go, thou, and do as thou hast said,' was his favorite axiom whenever he felt justified in giving his moral support.

It came in time to be understood by the residents that any plan must have arrived at some coherence before it could be talked over with the Head, but that when a genuine need for conference existed there should be no hesitation in seeking his counsel. After some disagreement about a policy to be pursued on one occasion, Mr. Woods finally came around, and to the exclamation, 'Oh! you are going to let me have my way,' the reply was, 'Well, perhaps it is because you have a way. I'm tired of people who come for advice without having a way — without having thought through their own problem.'

When changes at the South Bay Union were being dis-

cussed in later days, some one exclaimed, 'We simply couldn't do our work without a kitchen,' and perhaps thinking of the time when the work had to be done without any equipment or not at all, he said, 'Do you think that is a very constructive way of looking at it? I should say it is a very dogmatic method.'

Mr. Woods placed high in importance the episodes of the Christmas festival season as they unfolded in the neighborhood drama created from year to year in the development of the South End House. Then it is, as at no other time, that all hearts are open to suggestions of kindliness and good understanding.

The round of events began with the Christmas tree of the kindergarten, when prospective pupils could be counted among the babes in arms and the other tiny brothers and sisters invited to watch proceedings. Santa Claus and the tall Mr. Woods were often the only men in attendance, but a stray father could count on finding that much of masculine companionship. The alert eye marked in the sequence of such events through the years the advancing standard in the physical appearance and improving behavior of the children, and judged thereby the program for a better physical basis of well-being. The time came when among the youngest members of the South Bay Union could be counted children of the children of the first kindergarten. Conversation with these parents had the added values of understanding which a common reminiscence can give. Without diverting his attention from the mother's talk, he would gather up a wailing child and give it the comfort of his knee with occasional reassurances from the encircling arm. The little girls would approach him with their dolls from the tree stretched out for approval, and with that monosyllable 'Look!' so expressive of profoundest satisfaction. The boys, grown excited over engine or some such appropriate toy, pushed in to share his approbation.

Hard upon this event came a supper party for some of the neighborhood elders, toil-worn women with that Irish glamour about them that lent itself to the telling of fairy

tales for their diversion, so that if you were Irish at all, like the Head of the House, you thought of your 'native land,' and 'God bless you' floated to your ears from withered lips with its own peculiar meaningful sentiment.

On Christmas Eve Mr. Woods responded to the call of the active corps of residents which followed in the wake of itinerant Santa Clauses, attending upon the enlarging round of home trees in the neighborhood according to the custom begun in the bygone years of the settlement. At intervals he would drop out to call on some of his earliest neighbors where the long Christmas candle would be burning, and in its tempered light would gossip about growing sons and daughters or those arrived at man's estate and hear how they were getting on in the world, perhaps learning of a chance to say a good word for a lad who wanted a better job. When he entered a room he always shook hands with each person present and never felt quite satisfied with a general introduction to any little gathering.

The full round of the evening closed with a late supper for the whole staff of the settlement at the women's residence amid the sociability of warm-hearted comment on the evening's exploits, with the unbearded Santa Clauses sometimes moved with the emotion of the novice or because that, with repetition, the glow of the experience did not wane. Home, then, by midnight to find a disheveled wife bent on stepladder maneuvers in decoration and a quiet house stirred about in an apparent confusion as if for once the tables and chairs had asserted their independence to be where they didn't belong. Wise advice would be given to leave it and go to bed, trusting in morning hours to finish preparations before the throng of fifteen or twenty residents would gather for breakfast. For this occasion the head of the family felt no responsibility beyond being on time just, keeping the talk moving gayly, and welcoming surprises along with the rest. When the last had gone, there was an appreciative reading of Christmas cards and a day of quiet.

Through the succeeding week the stir of club parties

kept the Head of the House on the move to the culmination on New Year's Eve of a neighborhood party for grown folks. Here were registered by decade and half-decade the imponderable gains responding to the embodiment of the underlying purposes of the settlement expressed very simply in a kind of living drama, with all the *dramatis personæ* on the floor in the Virginia reel turning to a great circle of friendly handclasps, vocal in the singing of 'Auld Lang Syne' before the first 'Happy New Year' was called forth. A score of years was thus repeatedly welcomed in the neighborhood guild hall at the South Bay Union with that renewal of the spirit which gave the strenuous activities of a winter, hard-fought legislative battles, or the struggle against liquor evils, and always the quest for funds to keep things going, a downrightness of value in the championed cause of neighborhood upbuilding.

A developing technique was now resulting from spirited team work as well as from individual initiative on the part of the South End House staff, augmented by an enlarging group of volunteer associate workers. It was greatly to the advantage of relationships in the neighborhood that these connections in numerous cases were continuous over a period of years. Of the resident staff Mr. William Cole was already in the second decade; Mr. John Whitman, with his genius for personal understanding with boys, was a well-known figure in the neighborhood. Miss Esther G. Barrows had begun in 1905 her distinguished service, continued for more than twenty years, as administrative head of the women's residence and director of the work of that group. Closely associated with her was Miss Mary Strong (the late Mrs. Howard Burns), who brought a nurse's training and artistic imagination into coördination for a successful piece of pioneering for health. Another specialist then recently added to the staff was a teacher in domestic science.

It was one of the happiest events in the history of the South End House that, in the growth of its program for the physical well-being of the people of its neighborhood, it

was able to have the leadership of Miss Strong. The public bath and gymnasium had already pointed the way for better things, but it was evident that the beginning must be made farther back in the life of the individual. There were as yet no precedents to follow. It fell to Miss Strong to invent the steps in her own venture. Since it had been through my personal acquaintance that she had turned to Boston when she was finishing her nurse's training, it was my privilege to take her about and endeavor to explain what we felt the situation and need to be. It is still a vivid remembrance how walking down Harrison Avenue we struggled to put into words the possibilities of a nurse who kept people well instead of doing the repair service which she knew in the hospital.

Miss Strong brought into the resident group warm personal friendships as well as music and social skill. Her work was a constant source of gratification to Mr. Woods. The steps from the first modified milk stations; the babies' club growing into the well-baby clinic; personal advice to expectant mothers, becoming the now indispensable prenatal care; and the encouragement in both parents of fine feeling for the coming into the world of a new member of society with rights of birth to be respected and prepared for, led into the organization of a neighborhood service at once comprehensive and personal.

Miss Strong was unusually fortunate in her approach to the people of the neighborhood and to her fellow-workers in the same field, now one of the most fundamental of the services of the settlements which the organization of the Boston Social Union made increasingly effectual.

Mr. Woods believed that for a group of residents in a settlement, 'in a scheme including so many subtle approaches, a close technical form of administration is not only undesirable but impossible.' But he had a definite policy which distinguished between freedom in work and liberty to do as one pleased. He expected of others the same sense of trusteeship for the House and its affairs as he had himself, and he never wavered in making its claims

first nor in safeguarding against slackness of moral tone. The successful resident was not only one who could work under his own momentum, but one who, in committing himself to the enterprise, was also prepared to make sacrifices for it.

The idea that the settlement provided an outlet for the bohemian life met with no favor. His position in this as well as in regard to 'causes,' however valuable in themselves, was based on the principle that, when one is engaged on a social experiment of vast importance, it is essential not to jeopardize it by taking too many other extreme positions. Thereby one weakens the emphasis on the main undertaking by creating misconceptions of the motive of the real enterprise to which a person has given himself. Settlement work as a structural process must prove its case on its own merits.

As Mr. Woods became deeply absorbed in the community affairs of Boston and was drawn into connection with other sections of the country, he found himself necessarily somewhat out of the give-and-take of thought and opinion within the resident group. He felt that if the universe was being discussed there, he ought in some way to contribute his view of it. It was not easy to bridge the separation, partly due to the increasing difference in years as well as to the shyness of younger men and women in making active approach to his level of thought. However, the need for a common basis of understanding and some ritual for the group led to a delightful function in the way of a residents' supper the first Sunday of the month, which became definitely Mr. Woods's occasion. The freer talk of the table was followed by an hour devoted by him to giving what might be the substance of addresses prepared for speaking engagements, or in sharing some of the higher ranges of his mind and some of the background of knowledge and experience which were his guides. He brought to these talks quotation from his current reading, with special applications to the goals and methods of social work, referring often to latest scientific discoveries. One wondered how,

with such pressure on his time as he had continuously, he was able to glean so much. From the sources of his own inspiration he liked especially to share his devotion to Ruskin.

He took pleasure, also, in reviewing with appreciative comment for the work done, the successful events in the South End House calendar with emphasis on the finer values, that the staff as a whole might store them as an energizing memory for future achievements.

The formality of a 'Grace before meat' suggested the following for these special Sunday evening suppers:

O God, our father, we hope for thy blessing on this a company of workers in thy kingdom, gathered in happy fellowship about our table. May we learn to covet earnestly the best gifts, and make us fit for the great surrenders and the greater victories of the Christian disciple.

O God, we feel the high privilege of our happy companionship in Thy service; but we see with what great travail, in ways bewildering to us the better and nobler world is being born. Help us not to be in any degree mere lookers-on. Help us to take our loyal place, and to bear our full burden, in the broad field of life. Make us to be children of the light and of the day; and give us the vision, the courage, the patience, through which Thy kingdom shall come.

Some of the notes made in preparation for the talks at resident meetings and elsewhere, suggest the kind of intellectual discipline under which he gave rein to his powers, and by which he could quickly summon them, so that he never let an occasion pass when a word was expected from him without giving to it a stimulating expression of the larger aspects of truth in relation to the humblest or the hardest kind of facts.

Vow: I will learn the art of living things down; I will learn the art of living; Live it down! Paint it out! Spend part of your life on the big curves.

'Thou hast that is *thine*. *I* have won other talents.'

Nothing has befallen you that is not according to the lot of

men. The great thing that we want bestowed upon us is the measure of our own self-depreciation. . . . Our regret is the measure of what we have in ourselves to accomplish.

Don't wait for convenient season, — go the limit! Hitch your wagon to a star; take a sporting chance. Whatsoever is not of faith is sin. Love of a good thing thus [becomes] interesting, the test of a beautiful thing.

Being is not yet accomplished to the finish. An ultimate uncertainty must therefore normally be faced. The sense of assurance is the strength of the finite postulate. Going into the greater region of the ultimate uncertainty adds a great net reassurance. An ultimate possibility contrary to fundamental instincts cannot be entertained, the ultimate nature of life digests it. . . If this infinitesimal risk is in the nature of being, we take it. Only the contretemps need be explained.

Original uncertainty necessary to courage, initiative, freedom. Uncertainty in achievement, as to whether it is achievement, essential to further achievement. All achievement relative, measured by *activity*. Doubt presupposes a larger self, coherent, enterprising; larger self, less materialistically solid; more actively and aggressively coherent and courageous.

The good is enemy of the best.

You can always do what you want to; but you can never do what you only want to want to.

Citizens of the World: education teaches us to be at one with the world; to put fear aside; to be single-hearted. Knowledge transmitted into personality; knowledge brings us into the swing of things, — swing with the nature of things; I love and the world is mine; get away from the cheat, the illusion — 'Whate'er thou lovest, man, that, too, become thou must; God, if thou lovest God, Dust, if thou lovest dust. Go out, He will come in. Be not and he will be.'

Thou shalt coöperate with thy neighbor with thy maximum initiative: not find what people think and try to displace those thoughts by others, but find what they are doing and what their interests are, and seek to moralize those interests.

The consecration of Friendship; family and neighborhood im-

pulse; the Deed, — propaganda of deed. Lavish of personal influence; fulfillment is larger, freer, richer contretemps of life. There are great resources in ordinary life, — interchange best, happiest, brightest, funniest, most enlarging ideas and experience; gathering the cream of life and enriching it by interchange.

Not a dualism between ascetic, communistic establishment, and giant corporations — sanction of public service in the business itself. Man is what he does, — built up peculiarly by what he does through others. Patience with self and the world; impatience is other-worldliness.

The Power to Concentrate: Originate

External

Elimination of whatever one looks forward to as an escape; of whatever absorbs into itself that *kindling* interest. Take a deep, risky, merciless cut into what seems like a part of your being.

Casting one on one's own resources for the finer *qualities* and distinctions of life; to have them *only* as *one's own product;* to reduce one's ration of such things from without until sheer hunger for them compels one to produce them by one's own *creative acts*.

Secure *peace* and *change* not as their partially engaged beneficiary but as their master through complete and continuous absorption in the one and only game that there is and playing it to win its high points.

Internal

Finding what suppressed emotions create a diversion of attention; training them to the original experience which falsely entrenched them; and then gradually persuading one's self of the unreason of the *then* attitude from the *present* clearer and stronger point of view.

Disintegrate the *sources* and cut off the *objects* of unproductive and distracting mental alertness and inquisitiveness; and play those tongues of flame day after day into the apparent drabness and flatness of your material.

Soon you will have not the mere openness to conviction; nor even the greater value of the will to believe; you will inwardly *believe* and know. Your whole mind and being will be mobilized. Grasp and flux of mind will then become often effortless.

Middle age brings back the clear vision of youth, with far

greater practiced power to dispel illusions. Many of the seemingly deep and permanent films over mind and soul — long accepted — no longer struggled with, can now by patient re-education of self, be entirely eliminated.

Religion [is concerned with] the unity of life for the fulfillment of all our faculties that every part of life (may be) put under ethical restraint but filled with moral opportunity; the actual interests of life coördinated into a concrete moral organism. Aggregates are determined by the properties of the unit. To see at once that so long as the characteristics of citizens remain substantially unchanged, there can be no subtantial change in the political organization which has been slowly evolved by them. You cannot snatch yourself brave and free. You cannot dream yourself into a character. The fearless only shall be free. Life, more life; it is a becoming — it must always be fought for — it is always being won. A *Fool* may be only one who provisionally fails while learning to engage the essence of his being (in the Attempt-essay). Ambush of our own natures. Make the main action of one's life distinguishably Christian. . . . Can one re-discover the gospel in his own experience? More intercourse and initiation, more experiment, more system. Learn to do as you please without deliberation, on impulse from the practical spirit. Decide on basis of full-self, summarizing judgments. Spirit notes — as including and fulfilling the greatest realities. The moral imperative more than all doubt. Instincts in normal balance — the true finalities. Experience of mind has its own validity.

It is possible for us so habitually to have the high lights of life only by consuming them, that we lose all notion that they never are really *our property* except in the measure that we are in our own persons the producers of them.

Every power is a great intelligence — the final fullness of life is the final truth and revelation — Every new inlet of life is a further grasping of the ultimate truth. To do each day what might never have been done on any other day — an ever fresh adventure out into the boundless realm of life.

Do the deed — charge possible mistakes up to the general order of things; which gets on only by cashing in an enormous number of losses as against infinite gains.

Don't be afraid to hitch up the whole force of one's individual selfish impulse with one's other motives in giving momentum to one's work in life. Congeal principles into dramatic situations. Free expression of sentiment and schemes. Omit explanations. Study the art of lodging the essential, not full grown but nascent, in the other person's thought with as little effort of attention as possible. Pithy speech — cut out introductions and conclusions. Cut out nine tenths of the qualifications; it is an impressionistic universe. We get only a glint of truth at a time. Raise standards by decision; protect weaker moments; bluff off first impacts.

Long range personality; truth in known scheme of life; avoid point of view itself untrue.

It was always a surprise that he could quickly apply himself to the details of small matters after he had been dwelling on ideal values. 'He was not mystified by the general idea but quickly saw it in its concrete relations; on the other hand the practical thing had to be somewhat commensurate with the ideal,' says one of the early residents. The settlement enterprise met this requirement in being a synthesis of many small human needs looking toward the fulfillment of life both for individuals and the whole of a community.

No account of residence in a settlement with the accruing interests of years would give a true picture of its manifoldness that did not convey some sense of the multifarious encounters with life in the experience of its residents. For those carrying the major responsibilities it was necessary to live and think not only in one's own work, but in terms, also, of the activities of others who needed encouragement, restraint, the special lift that would mean a serviceable achievement on which both personal development and the work of the whole settlement depended.

As far as time would allow at the South End House working conferences were held among the residents. 'A high spirit of loyalty was relied on to secure good team work.' Advance thinking out loud was definitely encouraged to make, as it were, a common mind for the staff. From formal consultations both with individuals and the

group, as well as from incidental conversations caught along the way at resident suppers and other gatherings, Mr. Woods knew the story from day to day through successes and disappointments, so that he could not only take up the thread of events at a moment's call for advice, but, quite as likely, would be the one to initiate a conference over a concrete suggestion which he had to offer, after some reflection, or because some piece of information had come his way from his outreaching connections.

There were in time thirty residents living in quarters scattered through the district and between Mr. Woods and Miss Barrows lay the direction of their relations to the neighborhood. In addition there was the fluctuating group of volunteer associate workers counting over the hundred mark, and the representatives of coöperating social agencies who were often also in conference with the residents.

Mr. Woods's guiding emphasis for the residents, in whatever field one might be working, whether as a specializing expert or in some general neighborly capacity, was as to the quality of life that might be nurtured through these relationships for making 'the fabric of public spirit.' 'Our work must come naturally, informally, personally,' however necessary it may be to systematize the use of our time which is never wasted in giving freely of ourselves.

'The manifold radiation of influences out into every corner of the district through personal contact with people in their homes and at the variety of local meeting-places, this interplay of community acquaintanceship can prepare the warp of that larger community understanding which is the basis of public spirit.'

In all the forms of general sociability with which the settlement program overflows, the whole staff of residents were drawn in as circulating medium. The rich by-product of clearer mutual understanding resulting from a neighborhood ground of common enjoyment was justified many times over in the facility with which it was possible for the residents to more fully serve in the serious affairs of either personal or community life. It showed, too, in the respon-

sive coöperation of the neighbors with the settlement and among themselves, pervaded by an atmosphere of spontaneity and enthusiasm as year by year purposeful sincerity was understood to be a foundation to be relied upon.

Sometimes, indeed, it seemed to be the province of the House to protect its neighborhood from stereotyped methods and highly organized forms of work by general social agencies for which an interpreter was needed among the beneficiaries, or to soften the approach to them in the heart of the worker by presenting life in its more poetical realities. Such a problem arose with the important hygienic program as it introduced one representative after another of specialized nursing services.

The first distinctive accomplishment of the South End House had been the transformation of the instinctive boys' gang, often nefarious in its workings, into the small club which met the important need of training in the art of association on a higher social level. After the first decade Mr. Woods saw that in this respect the settlement must do as surely for the girls of the neighborhood as for the boys. The work with girls had been at first more usually in classes where the motive of instruction predominated rather than that of the prowess of the recreative group. It was a delightful discovery, he felt, when later, with more attention given to girls of all ages, it was found that 'the little girl is clubable.' He often made genial reference to the fact. Stories that drifted in to him from those devoting their time to work with girls as to the latter's initiative in adjustments to one another in their different clubs, were appreciatively heard and remembered.

Another fallacy in early thinking was with equal cheer set right when the South End House abandoned the policy of social isolation between its organized groups of youths and young men and those of their feminine contemporaries. The joint leadership of the young men and women of the settlement staff developed a much more stimulating program of recreation. The educational value of the mixed group in dramatics came to have large significance both

for thoroughgoing recreation, intellectual stimulus and growth of character.

It was at a time when the tide of achievement was seen to be rising that new calls to outlying service came to Mr. Woods. Writing to Dean Hodges as president of the South End House Council in September, 1907, he said:

> . . . everything has gone very well at the House this summer, much better than ever before. . . . The governor has asked me to accept the chairmanship of the Foxboro Hospital for Dipsomaniacs. After consulting with various colleagues, including Mr. Lowell, I told him I would do so if he would go in for a really scientific and human program for dealing with the whole problem of drunkenness. He said he would back me up in this.

Again, in October, another request had come of interest to them both as erstwhile Pittsburghers:

> I have had a Macedonian call from Pittsburgh on the part of those engaged upon a broad and very interesting inquiry into the city's social conditions. They wanted me to give them several months. I wrote that I could arrange to spend the month of January and half the month of April. This would mean that I should for a time need to double my lectures at the school. Could this be arranged without too much inconvenience? . . . I want also to talk over this Pittsburgh situation with you a little.

During this absence letters from Pittsburgh came 'To the Residents,' individually and collectively:

> I feel homesick over my first absence from the monthly Sunday evening gatherings since they began.
>
> Pittsburgh is just the other sort of place from Boston. Its motive is not knowledge but power. It is indifferent to the way an act starts; raptly intent on how it brings up. This spirit as well as the fact that I see around me so many suggestions of those early years when one has that sharp vision which almost sees behind things, gives one an unusual experience of living in the concrete.
>
> It is especially needful to us who are engaged in a somewhat ideal enterprise to have such experience, lest we confuse the vagueness of the lower mental levels with the effect of the finer and higher light upon our not yet accustomed eyes.

Even the angels must wrestle. They do not dream out their achievements.

Too much we push out our craft from shore; too little do we resolutely hold the course until the keel scrapes the sands of the destined country.

I do not know of any settlement work that has one-half the bite to it that is the understood essential of every well-conducted business. As being largely in the barking department myself, perhaps this may not come well from me.

I do not mean that settlement workers are not earnest and devoted. On the whole they are wonderfully so. It is that we do not have enough of that eagerness to clutch the final token of the work beautifully achieved and complete. In its crude form we see this in the money maker; in a higher way in the artist.

So much for the final stage in a piece of work.

There is a first stage and a middle stage.

The first stage is easy if we remember that it is always possible to begin, to take the first single step, and that done to take the next.

> 'What you can do, or dream you can, begin it.
> Boldness has genius, power, magic in it.'

But then comes the middle stage — the long, sometimes dreary, pull. Start some forces going behind you which force you forward, to be relied upon when there seems to be nothing drawing you from before. It is now and then just right to put ourselves in a position where for shame we are coerced into going straight ahead, until we are apprehended by some of the magnetic rays of the passion for perfection.

But you will say this is a sermon, not a letter home. Next month I will tell you of some of the wonders of the journey.

To Miss Barrows:

I received your note with enclosure. I am very glad to know that history is being made so comfortably on East Canton Street. [The Women's Residence of the South End House, Number 43.]

I hope you have had your little outing. It is too bad that Miss Strong had to use hers to such purpose.

I am having a very interesting time. This is an amazing laboratory for the social student, and it is not nearly so hopeless to the social worker as it is usually thought to be. To-night I am going

to ——. They have too much relief work and are trying to throw it off.

To-morrow night I go to Kingsley House for a conference with the ward boss.

To-day I lunched with the Mayor.

So the prodigal son is forgiven on his return. Still the Pittsburgh fatted calf can hardly draw me from the plainer fare (beans!) of a much less hustling old town.

With greetings to all the household.

DEAR ELEANOR:

Last night I took dinner and spent the evening with my old friend Evans. He is Welsh and therefore has both feeling and intelligence. . . . To-day I have been doing the Carnegie Tech. It is quite a wonderful institution already and is having a marked effect on the public schools. . . . To-morrow evening I spend at the Kingsley House. I am quite warming up to my old home.

I think your complaint as to the brevity of my letters is justified especially as you write such interesting ones. My brother Jim once said that he thought that a fellow who had received a college education ought to be able to write a little more at length. Your loving

ROBERT

To the same:

I was very glad to get your long and interesting letter. It is worth going away to get the kind you write.

As to municipal suffrage for women I want you to do just what you think is right. Of course at times we have to consider the general interests of the Kingdom before taking a marked step in some new direction. But I don't see anything to interfere with your supporting this movement on practical grounds. I would not be pushed into a position of leadership where you would have to bear the responsibility for what others say and do.

We had a very interesting dinner last night at which we made a long start toward getting Pittsburgh citizens to take things up where we lay them down.

I have been considerably occupied with meeting and advising people who have a settlement which has not been run right. Their eagerness is almost pathetic.

In about ten days I will be with you. I feel quite curious to see how Boston will feel after Pittsburgh. . . . I hope the residents' meeting will be a success. . . .

I think we shall include in our April jaunt a trip to Chicago or some neutral point for a solemn conference about settlement federation.

I don't know that I want to give up Boston altogether, but I have about made up my mind that the settlement motive must be projected into the larger horizons or it will die at the roots.

The desirability of applying the principle of the federal union to a national plan for the settlements had already been formulated by Mr. Woods in the outline of agenda for the Boston Social Union, prepared in 1907:

City federation to serve as a nucleus for an organization of workers in settlements, district improvement societies and village improvement societies throughout the State. Alliance with federations in other large cities and among State federations, as a basis for a national organization of local social workers. Settlement federation developed specifically in its National phase should provide a concrete general movement upon settlement problems in their National bearings, and not merely scattered discussions of individual and local plans.

A conference was held at White Plains in March, 1908, and is remembered by one in attendance as a debate of the principle sponsored by Mr. Woods, and another view which did not prevail with the other leaders present.

The 'April jaunt,' however, also took place and included a visit in Minneapolis where very fine new settlement buildings were to be seen, as was the case also in Chicago, tending somewhat to an institutional type of combined residence and clubhouse. On the way home Mr. Woods said, 'We must enlarge our quarters on Union Park, we must give greater distinction to the setting of the work of the House.' The South Bay Union, conceived mainly as a social workshop for club and class, needed the reënforcement of a place that would put special occasions on a higher plane of friendly intercourse.

Another event of 1908 was an honorary Master of Arts

degree given him by Amherst College, especially appreciated as a recognition of his field of work.

Of gayer moments less is recorded from a life so generally given to concerns the most serious pursued with ardor. Birthday greetings, however, were duly acknowledged and the conspiracy which brought a brief revelry after the evening appointments were over, or an early morning salute, deserved something out of the ordinary. The reader is to remember that within the resident family our various places of abode were usually referred to by the street numbers. The men's residence and Mr. Woods's office was '20'; our home was '16.' The small house, '43,' which was the first women's residence, went through two metamorphoses in the adding of a second and then a third of the adjoining houses. The milk station was then one of the regular items of the day's work and subject to frequent reference in the jargon of the residents' conversation. With so much in the picture Mr. Woods may be seen at his desk one morning holding up some important telephone communication while composing verse:

43

Upon this mystic sign I gaze
And find I'm really there;
To-day I'm sorry I arrived so soon,
Last night I didn't care.

Nor do I when my hat I don,
And Blarneyites are seen,
Who say I always stay at 20
Save when about 16.

But 43 did come to me
In double, treble fashion
A group, a troupe, — a rush of years
With their misdeeds made hash on.

Not that I sought this visitation;
Yet pined it might abide
And point out forked by-paths
To baffle time and tide.

It's gone, — down Livelong St. mayhap;
Let the 'Process' started be
All freshly 'modified and certified'
To double 43.

L'Envoi

Now who is who? And what is what?
And where we're at, let's see.
The group, the troupe knows it is It —
I know I'm.....

CHAPTER XXIII

THE NEIGHBORHOOD A SOCIAL UNIT

When we were first married, we would occasionally talk about the period of time to be devoted to the strenuous affairs of the settlement; on the whole, twenty-five years seemed a reasonable term of service. But as the cumulative response from the neighborhood grew ever more clearly defined, Mr. Woods would say, 'Oh, let's make it fifty years!' The main trouble he thought was that we never had faith enough in the outcome, and in the responsiveness of the people whose lives we touched, to set ourselves a large enough scale of possible achievement.

It was one of Mr. Woods's principles in 'explaining the work' that the truth lay as little in diminishing the virtues of things as in exaggerating them. 'A poor thing, but mine own,' belonged in the Touchstone farce; it was not the way to make an honest presentation of potential facts. He sought to give full measure to the significance of constructive social work and to the phase of it embodied in the instrumentality of the settlement.

In 1909, the National Conference of Charities and Correction, which previously had desired the attendance of settlement workers on its own orthodox basis, made a definite concession to their program. A section of its meetings, hitherto called 'Care of needy families in their own homes' — that is, as against the almshouse or other institutions — was renamed 'Families and Neighborhoods.' Mr. Joseph Lee presented the family as an institution fundamental to all sound social upbuilding; Mr. Woods set forth the neighborhood in its out-reaching social values. His title, 'The Neighborhood and the Nation,' gives the proportion of his claims. He said:

> We are learning that in every direction of social reform, it is worse than useless to be partial and piecemeal. We must start in to do a complete piece of work. By taking one neighborhood

at a time we can get experience in accomplishing work of relative completeness. We are learning also that we must not only undertake to do a thing completely, but get everybody concerned to work with us. By working in the neighborhood units, it is possible for us accurately and practically to elicit this universal and catholic coöperation.

The collapse of institutionalism, that is, of mechanical schemes of reform — in the public life of our cities, is forcing us back to the spontaneous drama of the neighborhood. The neighborhood to most men, to nearly all women and to all children is their own public arena in which, if at all, they must learn and exemplify the living principles of city and nation.

A federal union throughout the city of good citizens of the good neighbor type who are becoming such through the kindling experience on a small scale of neighborhood achievement, including social workers who are learning to make reform successfully meet the hard tests of local street-corner democracy, will bring the real reform of city government by developing an all-around, timely and locally wise, coöperative electorate. And this type of federal union of good citizens who begin in the neighborhood, will not be interested so much in technical methods as in large, penetrating, exhaustive, human aims for the municipality.

We are learning that personality is what we have called the individual plus all the relations and ties and ambitions and hopes of that individual; not until you really understand and have some share in these ties, and begin to work back through them toward the center of the personality, can you understand or influence that personality. The neighborhood is a very genuine type of the social extension of personality. It has the rounded scope of personality. It has the appealing reality of the personal life, the spontaneity that goes with it, and it responds readily to every appeal to its self-respect; and like most persons, it does not like to be reformed. The neighborhood, therefore, presents a challenge to real democratic access to the family. It also furnishes the way. The natural approach to people is always possible in the life of a neighborhood, through that sometimes apparently meaningless but always vital thing which we call sociability. It is this which makes it possible in some way or other for one to become an actual participant in the local scheme of life and gives one a real and permanent influence on a democratic basis.

A neighborhood worker having placed himself under bonds to the neighborhood and its interests, must necessarily seek and de-

pend upon the coöperation of every human being in the neighborhood. Professor James tells us that one way to accomplish a hard task is to take the first step. It is always possible to take one step, and create a set of conditions which will everlastingly disgrace you if you do not go ahead. A person who has thus committed himself to the welfare and progress of the neighborhood is in a psychological attitude which compels him to work with, rather than for all kinds of individuals, no matter how helpless at times they may be. So, too, the concrete participation with people in the active responsibilities of a neighborhood gives a basis, which cannot so well otherwise be found, for traversing the deep social cleavages that come of racial and religious distinctions.

Our intercourse with people in the rooming-house section of the South End was a definite addition to the experience upon which Mr. Woods founded his thesis of the neighborhood. We began to see that it was actually possible to stimulate the social circulation which would create neighborliness and make possible a working group of citizens where none had been. Gradually the sense of fear of one another, by which next-door strangers are dominated, gave place to a growing confidence of people in themselves and in others.

The services of the South End House were threefold in thus opening up communications in the midst of the social disintegration characteristic of this phase of city life. It offered a medium of exchange between those who wanted rooms and those who had them for rent. This contribution to the living conditions of the district while small in its obvious results provided a nucleus of responsible landladies who had standards but who needed the moral support of a group of associates dealing with the same situation.

On the social side the district was cut off from intercourse with other sections of the city for lack of representative organizations. At a time when women's clubs were coming into importance the South End had no such secular group. The church societies from a local social point of view were divisive. It became one of the functions of the

settlement as social organizer to open the way for the wider intercourse with other parts of the city. This applied as well to the women of the tenement-house neighborhood. And these developments were watched with penetrating attention by Mr. Woods. Their strength would have been greatly augmented if there had been a budget commensurate with the opportunity. His own contribution was made through the organization of a local improvement society, and in helping to bring into coöperation representatives from other sections of the city, forming the United Improvement Society, again a nucleus of like-minded citizens giving disinterested service to their community. A small group of men, with whom Mr. Woods was active in the direction of this undertaking, got results far outweighing their apparent strength by their devotion and intelligent application to the task.

One of the experiments in neighborhood relationships in which Mr. Woods found great satisfaction was a series of 'cottage meetings' under the auspices of the South End Improvement Society. One resident of a street would be asked to keep open house for the immediate neighbors, who were invited to attend in the name of the society. A real outflowing sentiment of pent-up good will got into circulation by this means. Though we grumbled together about the city's multiple sins of municipal housekeeping, we also sang and had a very good time. Mr. Woods pointed out the values of these experiences:

> The settlement learns that people who can express themselves in no other civic terms will at least grumble about some defect in the local administration. It finds what are the common causes of complaint. It gets people to grumble in common, making their complaints specific in each case. It helps to direct the common pressure so as to secure a measure of concrete, comprehensive result. The people have, by this time, gone through a bit of kindergarten training in democracy. They have, as it were, tasted blood in the matter of citizenship, and are eager for the next pursuit. The settlement residents are themselves bitten and stung by the wrong of it. They are local citizens, of the circle of

acquaintance that leads up to the first result and follows on to the next. It is merely a point of departure out into the life of the neighborhood which is not only free for all but includes all the people in nearly the whole round of their interests and pursuits.

The importance of a sound neighborhood life was seen most clearly in its moral support to growing youth. The snares and pitfalls of commercialized entertainment have always been a serious concern of the residents of settlements. One of the functions of the social guild hall of the neighborhood is to keep the young people within the range of the natural social restraints coming out of the normal habitat. There is a special safeguard to behavior in one's local identity. Add to this the function of the 'resourceful parent' become a coöperative feature of neighborhood life and there is provided wise and spirited leadership ministering to recreative needs and those 'vague reachings out after a larger and fuller life.'

In the course of the deliberate direction of the settlement in these channels an even more constructive value began to show itself. Mr. Woods called attention to this fresh force in discussing 'The Neighborhood a Recreation Unit.' The association of its young people in vital recreation actually adds to the resources of the neighborhood as a whole in its better life:

> There is, indeed, a certain spiritual kinship between the movement for play and the revival of the neighborhood. The great tradition of spontaneous play goes with the village green. It is the out-cropping of a simple common life. Play on the one hand, and this simple nascent form of collective life on the other, are each a means of grace. Through both of them the mind and character achieve a wisdom and power which are beyond the reach of all our analyses and all our methods. . . . How much play has to give to, and how much it has to get from, . . . that first little social universe in which alone the human spirit can, in the full sense, learn to grow!

He often used a quotation from Horace Bushnell, the divine, to the effect that play was the highest expression of the human spirit, and we find him saying to teachers

at this period toward the close of twenty years of service: 'The play spirit in the child is the spirit which I think we need more than anything else in the world of industry to-day, and we need to square our conception of industry to that spirit of play.' The best tribute which he felt had come from industrial education was that of students who had become practical workmen, who had told him that the trade school had discovered to themselves faculties they had not dreamed of possessing and had pointed out specifically a way in which those qualities could have greater fulfillment.

The lack of such opportunities for the average youth in available work made it the more important that something of the same experience be brought to them in other ways in their hours of recreation. It was here that the small stage of the South Bay Union brought to Mr. Woods his happiest hours. He went to all the plays given by children and young people and encouraged every fresh development which experience indicated, for here it was evident was a fruitful combination of learning and play which had in it the power to transform the reserved personality intc a freer, more able individual.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SYMBOL OF THE SETTLEMENT

It would have been impossible to estimate in advance the release of our energies for social events which the enlarged residence on Union Park brought to those to whom it became the instrument of sociability. Our program for increasing acquaintance among the people living in the lodging house district and of opening thereby cross-currents of social intercourse and responsibility grew with the assurance of good faith which the House in its new estate conveyed.

Before this new era, we had endeavored to hold musicales, meetings and parties, made up of strangers to ourselves and to one another, in the long, narrow, high-studded parlor, characteristic of the restraints of a past generation. It was very much like creating a social atmosphere in a street car. There was little that could be done to overcome the fatal lining-up of guests up and down the room, with that desire for the companionship of a chair which gives ease to one's shyer feelings. A white marble mantelpiece with a register conveying furnace heat where glowing embers had a rightful place made a travesty of the hearth as center of enjoyment. The room was dignified but dull. It threw the whole burden upon the spontaneity of the company and accentuated all the pains of hospitality; yet withal happy hours were passed in it and friendships made, the nucleus of later developments.

When the months of reconstruction were over and two such houses had been turned into one, the metamorphosis was complete and an Assembly Room of generous proportions came into service. The surprised comment of a guest, 'Why, this would be a fine room anywhere,' was, perhaps, the best description of what Mr. Woods had meant the room to be. To secure an atmosphere in keeping with the finest New England traditions adapted to the

ASSEMBLY ROOM IN SOUTH END HOUSE

particular purpose for which it was desired, he turned to one of our family connection, adopted out of remote cousinship into close personal sympathy. In the interior finish of the house, Miss Lois Lilley Howe brought her architectural training and her unalloyed friendliness into understanding coöperation for the end to be achieved, and under her guidance the quality most desired came to fruition. The house thenceforth gave the key to which our social life should be tuned.[1] Most striking was the impression that it made upon people from the district who came there for the first time; as has been said of Mr. Woods himself — it warmed for further intercourse. In the setting of the Assembly Room neighbors gather to discuss local affairs in serious conclave, clubs and dancing classes meet and the liveliest of Twelfth Night revels, with all the social implications that could be devised, have set the pace which all other parties are expected to emulate.

The location of the Headquarters of the South End House in the dignified setting of one of Boston's most charming small parks has sometimes been a matter of comment from visitors. Perhaps this criticism belongs in the same category as that of some one who said, 'Knowing how impractical Mr. Woods is from seeing him at the National Federation of Settlements, I have wanted to tell him how impractically he runs his own settlement.' The residence is not surrounded by the noisy whirl of the city, vociferous childhood at play is not conspicuous there. Yet it is within five minutes' walk of everything of the sort in the South End. It is, besides, within easy reach of all that signifies 'The City.' This is but characteristic of the significant place which it was intended that the South End House should hold in relation to the whole of its local community made up of a variety of widely separated social parts.

Mr. Woods attached several important values both to the location and to the dignified residence. He felt that it would give the settlement a claim upon men capable of

[1] The firm in charge of the reconstruction was Peabody & Stearns.

entering into the broader phases of city affairs who would benefit by and share in these larger commitments, and he hoped by offering a suitable residence to increase the number of young men who would, both for the sake of training and the opportunity for volunteer service, come into the fellowship of the House in whatever practical ways their talents and disposition might suggest. In a field that was so well adapted to the vital and devoted service of women he desired to keep a masculine intellectual emphasis in the happily associated activities of the combined staff of men and women.

He expressed his satisfaction and happiness in the new establishment, with its serviceable and beautiful equipment in his report of the year:

> The enlarged and remodeled headquarters came as the culmination of twenty years of the history of the House. Here, at the dividing line between the poorer and meaner part of the district to the north and its faded glory to the south; between the tenement belt to the east and the great lodging-house population to the west — it is in position to be one of the most vital and far-reaching civic centres in Boston. Nearly everything that takes place here is definitely affected by the atmosphere of an expansive hospitality rather than any sort of institutionalism. Its two large and beautiful rooms are the scene of a great variety of gatherings, all designed to bring fresh intelligence, distinction, happiness, loyalty, into the different phases of our own work and into many other branches of social service with which ours is allied.

We saw him at his best moments in the gatherings in this setting which so thoroughly expressed his conception of the dignity of human relationships. He gave both there and at the South Bay Union a quiet geniality to the affairs which he attended, but at Union Park he was especially the gracious host.

One had always to reckon with his determined concern that the real values of hospitality should be full and free. Nothing annoyed him more when a group of either neighbors, or guests from elsewhere were assembled, than to see

two or three of the residents of the House having a nice cozy time together instead of scattering themselves in active support of the administration. It is a lesson not easy to impart to those who do not catch the sense of informal drama in social gatherings, and so lose track of their own darling emotions in the contretemps and movement of a company of people. This faculty was so much a part of Mr. Woods's temperament that he never could quite understand its halting use in others.

In 1911, when the National Conference of Charities and Correction came to Boston, we were able in our new establishment to gather each evening at the dinner table forty guests variously invited at short notice. In this way it was possible to give evidence of the hospitable spirit and generosity of Boston which makes the freedom of the work of the settlement possible. The close of the first twenty years thus saw the graduation of the South End House into a broad conception of its place in the city.

It was during the general conference of social workers in 1911 that the idea of a national federation of Neighborhood Houses was crystallized. Mr. Woods was made secretary of the new organization, a post which he held for ten years. Mr. Albert J. Kennedy, who had been one of the holders of the Harvard South End House fellowship, became his efficient associate in the discharge of these new duties.

The contribution which Mr. Woods made through the channel of the federation cannot be easily sifted out from that of the whole group of unusual leaders which constituted the 'Old Guard' of the settlements. It was, perhaps, to be found in the steady drive which he kept at the plan and in the plotting-out of a continuous program which should give convincing evidence of the values inherent not merely in the conference but in the coöperative plan of action. His cordial encouragement of achievement wherever found and particularly his interest in discovering something unique in the experience of the smaller houses struggling to make themselves understood in their communities, made him a serviceable ally in helping to bring things

down out of the air and in giving them solid foundations.

Experience with local federation in Boston had taught him the need for an immediate common enterprise. With funds secured from the Russell Sage Foundation, Mr. Woods and Mr. Kennedy greatly amplified an early register of settlement houses, giving information as to work being done throughout the country. They were also working on a history of the movement. To this was now added a study of what the neighborhood houses were doing for the young working girl,

> in pursuance of one of the chief objects of the Federation — 'to bring together systematically the results of settlement experience in specific directions, and to make such results available to all who may profit by them.' The vital and baffling nature of the problem of the adolescent girl of the tenement-house family and the city factory or department store has come to be so keenly felt among settlement workers that there was no uncertainty as to the topic which should be the first for coöperative study throughout the country.

The opening paragraphs of this study, expressing Mr. Woods's observations of fifteen years ago, are prophetic of present-day discussions:

> We all move insecurely in a variety of situations today because old sanctions have been weakened, and no compelling motives have been developed in their place. The confusion of standard among adolescent girls, which is everywhere noticed and commented upon, is after all but one aspect of this more general confusion.
>
> Women in particular have not only had to meet the general moral uncertainty of the age, but in addition have had to face the serious moral problems forced upon them by the reorganization of their sphere of life through its invasion by modern industry. Young women of every class — those folded in homes above the average as surely as their sisters born and bred in working-class neighborhoods — have been affected by the unrest which has been created through this situation; though domestic, industrial, and recreative conditions have conspired to intensify the strain which is placed on working girls. . . .
>
> Little effort is made to prepare the daughter for the opportuni-

ties and dangers of her work in life, and the girl has constantly to face situations unfamiliar to herself, and even to her mother, at a time when her judgment is unformed, and her emotions least controlled. Training and knowledge, which should be given in the home have to be picked up in the street. Only infrequently do parents consciously organize the home to protect the daughter from herself and others, to minister wisely to her physical and recreative needs, and to sustain her in those vague reachings-out after a larger and fuller life which are characteristic of adolescence.

CHAPTER XXV

AN ABOMINABLE EVIL

IMPROVEMENT in the South End could be noted as the years went by; along with the rising level of physical health an increasing self-respect among the young people was evident. The gangs of street-corner loafers from being actively hostile to strangers passing through the streets, even to brickbat-throwing when the Andover House was first opened, gradually lost in popularity and as dissipation carried off first one and then another of the membership of a long-established and notorious congeries, young recruits were not so easily gathered in.

Ominous as were the temptations indicated by these loafers, the small saloons sequestered on the inner channels of the neighborhood were still more immediately the seat of undoing of individual and family character. Besides serving as places for the men to squander their weekly pay, whence they got home sodden drunk, or fighting mad, the corner grogshop afforded women so disposed the chance to get beer by the pitcher for the family table and for nefarious sociability, a practice called 'rushing the growler.'

This abominable evil which crossed the path of the social worker at every turn, complicating all efforts for individual and social betterment, was constantly being brought to the attention of the Head of the South End House by its women residents, with the particular emphasis of personal neighborhood acquaintance. Again the failure of some boy would be the tragic rehearsal given by the younger men of the settlement. It came to the point, after many repetitions of what was seen and heard across the way from the women's residence where a raucous saloon held sway, that the heart of the Head was felt to be cold to the issue because nothing in restraint seemed to be accomplished.

The story of how the problem of the little South End

neighborhood was pushed till it knocked at the door of the senior Senator from Massachusetts in the Federal capital, should be read in the reminiscence of flaring saloon windows in and around Harrison Avenue and Albany Street.

With his appointment to the chairmanship of the Hospital for Dipsomaniacs by the Governor, Mr. Woods became the recognized leader in the State for the task of putting restraints on the making of drunkards, a solemn heritage from the hand of an elder pioneer, Mrs. James T. Fields, who had turned to him in his first days in Boston to lend aid in seeking some solution of the problem. It is to be noted that though himself a teetotaler he did not at once join with the prohibitionists.

Massachusetts had already acquired some preëminence by recognizing the more subtle facts about drunkenness in establishing in 1893 the hospital which Mr. Woods and his associates fifteen years later were called upon to rescue from opprobrium. It had been opened in the conviction that the drunkard was a sufferer from disease rather than an offender in the criminal sense. 'From year to year there were signs of increasing public intelligence upon this tragic matter.'

The need for a better administration for the hospital had become obvious through unpleasant notoriety and the reluctance of patients to be cared for there.

As had been the case on the Commission for the Bath Department the associates appointed with Mr. Woods were men with whom he could work in heartiest accord and in the warmer atmosphere of friendship. The choice of Dr. Irvin Neff as the superintendent to carry through the plans of reorganization gave them the guidance of an expert and a loyal official. One of the members, Mr. Edwin Mulready, as secretary of the State Probation Commission, brought to their joint task his special knowledge of the probationary methods of treatment and was important in helping to secure the coöperation of probation officers. Dr. William Prescott added the alienist's knowledge to the councils of the committee.

Coincident with the new duties for the Foxborough Hospital came an episode of great importance in focussing Mr. Woods's attention on the more serious evils of the licensing system as practiced in Boston in regulation of the liquor traffic. In the mail accumulated during his stay in Pittsburgh lay a letter addressed to the Committee on Drunkenness. It came from a man well known in the liquor business and had received in Mr. Woods's absence a first skeptical reading by the vice-chairman of his committee. It seemed too good to be true that from such a source could come a move of coöperation without a string tied to it. When Mr. Woods on his return saw this letter, he assumed at once that it had been written in good faith and might well be of practical value. He could not anticipate how deeply into the situation its proposal would lead.

The business of a saloon was to sell beer and other liquors over the bar to be drunk on the premises, but the custom had grown up of selling liquor in bottles, too often whiskey, to be drunk elsewhere. This required the taking-out of two licenses for each saloon, a practice that was of questionable legal propriety. The result was:

> a cumulative complication. The bartender gets his customer half drunk by the glass and then, following the inevitable 'anything else to-day' instinct of the tradesman, urges upon this filmy mind the purchase of one or more bottles, usually whiskey, with which the process begun in the saloon is completed on the street, on the electric car, on the train, or secretly at home. 'Don't forget your bottled goods' is a permanent legend over not a few bars. . . . Under the double license system there are 726 places in the city of Boston where liquor is sold in quantity.

If a saloon sold drinks to men so that they got drunk on the premises, pressure could be brought to bear upon the Licensing Board to revoke the license. The advantage of selling bottled goods was that the sale could be consummated before actual drunkenness set in. The dealer had the money to pay his interest or his rent to the brewery without the odium of too much drinking in his place.

The proposal now made by a member of the wholesale

trade was that the law should forbid the granting of double licenses. He made it because he saw that the tremendous increase in drunkenness was bringing as well a rising tide of sentiment against drinking and was likely to lead to drastic action. He thought the liquor people themselves should take steps to improve their own business else they might suffer under a thorough cleansing of the Augean stables. He was not without prophetic vision.

The year of 1909 opened with the bill for the separation of liquor licenses before the State Legislature. In recommending it to the attention of the Boston Social Union, Mr. Woods said:

> The enclosed bill seems to me the best thing that I have heard of in the way of a practical next step in the specific pointed fight against the saloon as an institution. It means separating the factors in a very bad equation, and considerably weakening both factors. If this bill should pass, it would mean practically that there would be no more women going into the saloons, that there would be fewer places at which liquor was sold by the bottle and the can, and a number of saloons on account of the loss of the can trade would have to go into bankruptcy.

For three legislative seasons the proponents of the bill engaged in a battle royal at the State House against the powerful control exercised by the brewing and distilling organizations. Associated with Mr. Woods in the direction of the support of the bill were Mr. Robert Turner, a member of the Legislature, and Mr. Arthur J. Davis, later secretary of the Anti-Saloon League. The author of the idea acted with Mr. Woods *sub rosa* and supplied much valuable information and interpretation of the moves of their opponents. The support behind the bill, increasing with the prolonged opposition to its passage, was 'unprecedented in amount and variety. For the first time those engaged in social betterment, charity, and church work have undertaken as a group the support of a temperance measure.' A second group secured was made up of all sorts of temperance organizations and added to these were many large employers of labor, especially those responsible for

great manufacturing and transportation interests. Besides this alignment of active support, 'the bill is borne forward by the progressive sentiment of the State which is keenly alive to the substantial revolution that has taken place in medical opinion during the past few years with regard to alcoholic drinks. Sympathetically included among these allies are large numbers of workingmen.'

The legislative fight promised in its second season to come to a successful issue for its proponents when, by a ruse, the session closed without its enactment. While this was a seeming triumph for the liquor interests, it served in reality to still further strengthen the moral forces of the State against them so that the question became one of first political importance. For Mr. Woods, as for his associates, it meant another long winter's work with much of the summer devoted to careful consideration of strategy.

Painful stories could be told of the methods of the opposition. Bribery was one tool the use of which was clearly attempted by the defendants of the *status quo*. Yet they were baffled because they had no conception of the resourcefulness of intelligence deeply involved in this moral struggle. Described by one of those in close affiliation with them as 'fat-heads,' they framed the 'reformer' in the image of themselves.

Newspaper headlines held the 'Bar and Bottle Bill' well before the public. The three winters were full of human incidents which enlivened the spirit of the leaders most closely in touch with the situation. The race was often to the swift who could keep the back-country constituency posted and active. Close watch had to be kept over every fresh stage of progress at the State House. The time came, indeed, when a midnight trip to Washington by Mr. Woods secured the full pressure of party alignment through the Senator from eastern Massachusetts.

It must be admitted that Mr. Woods got fun out of the fight. He enjoyed the strategy of it as he did a chess problem, and more than that, the revelations of human character which came his way, for even the enemy could

occasionally be almost personally confidential in response to a kindly overture. In his relations with members of the Legislature Mr. Woods could be counted on to offer every reasonable persuasion to honorable action. He was guided in the necessary lobbying by the assumption that every one wants to do right, and that this applied to the representatives of the people certainly in their intentions; better to suffer repeated disappointment than to be unfair. It was not necessary, however, to be blind or oblivious to the truth; moral issues are not won that way, and they had actual knowledge of the attempted corruption.

In all his legislative efforts, and attendance at the State House was a regular part of a winter's program, he was careful to speak before committee hearings only of matters on which he could give first-hand knowledge. In presenting his case he put at the service of the committee facts useful in forming judgments; there was no emotional impressiveness used.

He was quick to discern points of strategy and carefully abided by the decisions arrived at in conference with others in the lead. It was the joint wisdom of a small group of associates and their mutual respect for each other's judgment that largely brought victory to the Bar and Bottle Bill by holding the valuable assistance of men in both branches of the Legislature when the injudicious hotheadedness of some proponents nearly lost the fight.

Two occurrences in June made the year a noteworthy one in the way of both professional and personal recognition. Mr. Woods was invited to go to Harvard to receive an honorary Master of Arts degree, and he was elected a trustee of Amherst College by its alumni.

At Commencement in Cambridge especial distinction was given by the presence of Theodore Roosevelt as president of the Harvard Alumni Association, and of Charles E. Hughes, then Governor of New York, who was the recipient of the chief honors. In presenting his degree to Mr. Woods, President Lowell paid this tribute: 'A man who labors to raise his fellowmen; trusted alike by those

who toil and those who think; a knight of Christ's chivalry without fear and without reproach.'

After the Commencement exercises in Sanders Theatre the alumni adjourn to a luncheon followed by speeches, to which the wives of guests are admitted, having lunched with the wife of the President of the University. Certain public officials are regularly invited to these occasions. It was thus that a well-known politician was present about whom more than once Mr. Woods had presented publicly certain facts far from creditable. So it was an amusing episode to the wife in the gallery to see this man moving up the line of seats at the speakers' table, when chance offered, and sitting down to hold converse with Mr. Woods.

Among the letters of appreciation and congratulation, one may be quoted which must have especially moved the recipient:

BOSTON CENTRAL LABOR UNION
June 30, 1910

Robert A. Woods, M. A.
DEAR SIR AND FRIEND:

Permit me to congratulate you upon the recognition of your services to the Community by Harvard University.

Many of us have known for years that there was no movement having for its object the betterment of the race but you would always find at its head Robert A. Woods.

Believe me to be
Sincerely and respectfully yours
HENRY ABRAHAMS

Mr. Abrahams was then secretary of the Central Labor Union.

Among his associates in his chosen field of service, the accolade was shared as giving rank to the new profession.

CHAPTER XXVI

POLITICAL VIEWS AND EXTRA-POLITICAL SERVICE

Mr. Woods rarely gave expression to his views on national politics. Much as he enjoyed the intricacies of the game when it turned on a battle of wits in city affairs, his challenge was always, 'Can politics be human?' The Progressive Party under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt he thought answered that question in the affirmative as against the mechanical formulations of the old party alignments.

When the two great parties meet and each divide with almost mathematical equality on practically the same issues, the values of the party system, so far as those parties are concerned, have disappeared. They are not confronting each other on the basis of issues, but merely of tradition, prejudice and spoils. There is no political health in us if we allow the national mind to go thus unbalanced.

The Progressive Party has laid out for this country that new median line upon which the politics of all other nations has come to be pivoted. The debatable territory for the future will have to do in far greater detail with matters of the common, collective well-being and progress of the households of the nation. The conception which still obtains in the two old parties that a few broad governmental regulations conferring resource, or placing restraint, upon the great divisions of business enterprise, would in some miraculous way provide anything like an appropriate, equitable and adequate chance at life, for the hundred million amid the infinitely complicated interactions of present civilization — simply belongs before the age of science.

Theodore Roosevelt is one of the few great humans. For ten years his has been the distinctive moving and infecting energy in bringing on this collective awakening on the part of 'the folks' from neighborhood to neighborhood throughout the country. Like most of the great figures in history — and strangely like most of 'the folks,' too — he shows apparently irreconcilable contradictions in his personality and conduct; but he will stand

in the historical background of the great loyalties which he has aroused and the new marshaling of ideas and forces which he has achieved.

The touchstone for the ultimate ethical and patriotic estimate of Mr. Roosevelt is as to whether it is conceivable that the enlightened and resourceful contemporary citizen should be moved with utter conviction by the full animus of the Progressive program. Nine-tenths of those who impugn his character are fundamentally unable so to conceive. On the other hand, the great majority of those who study the times by studying dispassionately and behind the scenes the various elements in the hundred million who are the makers of the times, feel that they have recognized in Mr. Roosevelt, continuously since the days of his Police Commissionership, one of the very few men in public life who have in their main action steadily and increasingly confronted reality.

The extra-political interests of modern city life, characterized by the organization of voluntary groups to affect and direct the intelligent moral sense of the community for specific ends, were particularly active in these years in Boston. Mr. Woods was constantly being drawn into such councils, believing in experiment and the cultivation of new ideas as likely to bring forth sooner or later something of great practical value. 'We are just on the fringe of invention in social achievement,' 'Our democracy is still in the stage of sharp-shooters,' were his estimates of social progress. He had heartily participated in the organization of a men's City Club in which there was encouraging possibility of bringing about a better community of feeling between the strongly contrasted dominant racial types of the population, the Yankee and the Irish, and men of all sorts of occupations. 'The spirit of comradeship has really taken possession of the club in quite a satisfactory degree' was his commentary in these first years of its existence.

We had both of us for several years given active service to the Public School Association, in which also some success could be seen in its avowed purpose of 'breaking down the barriers which exist among people of good will on account of prejudices and misunderstandings.' It had made

an especial appeal to a group of young men who, 'instead of going the way of the politician, have gone into business or into the professions and have developed themselves into public-spirited citizens.'

A small group of a dozen or fifteen men with whom Mr. Woods used to meet once a month was called the Industrial League, and was made up of large employers or superintendents of industrial plants. Without definite purpose of concrete action, their consideration of vital questions between the employer and the workman were at this time beginning to give evidence of some important results.

A more ambitious program, called 'Boston, 1915,' was initiated by a group of business men, with whom Mr. Woods was also identified. It was an effort to meet the problem, which he himself reiterated, that the city government breaks down because the conception of the city breaks down. There was a need of awakening people generally to fruitful thought by setting before them the metropolis in its 'dramatic ensemble' in order to secure their active service for its progress and well-being. The appeal was definitely to the man in the street. It was to show him his participation in the city's financial resources and how, with responsible management, the better life of all might have fulfillment in economic, educational, and cultural development. There is no doubt that it did express the sentiment of many baffled people who were looking for leadership in civic affairs.

Mr. Woods felt that as an enterprise it had several vital principles which might serve to settle increasingly anxious economic and political conflicts by conciliatory and constructive measures rather than by the ultimate test of hostilities.

Its weakness was that it required the marshaling and exhausting of all our educational resources for decades and generations. It predicated not only morally, but financially, a new conviction of the meaning of citizenship in the mind of the average individual citizen, and presupposed a moving desire on his part for a voluntary constructive fellowship with all other citizens.

There was at this point a deep cleavage between Mr. Woods and others in conceiving a program of possibilism. Against the theory that 'our measured and studied ways of reform must undergo a change deep, sudden and inexplicable which shall bring a full change of heart, a conversion revolutionizing our ethical attitude toward the dominating political and economic facts of life,' he set the necessity of long and patient methods of education.

He continued to express in educational councils, in which from time to time he was included, what was to him the necessary foundation for the new type of citizen so greatly needed by our civilization:

It used to be thought and is still thought by some that it is contrary to American principles of social equality that any young person should select his calling or that he should have it selected for him at an early age. Every boy and every girl is a possible occupant of the White House. Such teaching is far more weirdly Utopian than that of our present day social dreamers. True social equality consists in giving to every child as far as possible the opportunity to bring to the surface and make available his inherent capacity, and then coördinate that capacity with its appropriate economic and social opportunity. A great many of our most serious moral and political evils come from the fact that our scheme of education is accentuated on the side of the consumer and so weak on the side of the producer, fitting out our whole body of young people with a complicated variety of wants and no equipment to meet those wants. Whenever that unbalanced sort of condition exists in a person's nature it makes that person essentially a gambler. He wants in some way to get something for nothing. He has not really been trained to see that the great joy of life is not in consumption at all but in production. The productive motive is the great note that is being emphasized by the vocational movement in education. And from that point of view it represents a wiser and sounder and more real form of culture than we have had in the past. . . . The great reason, certainly from the point of view of the social worker, why the new ideal of vocational training is not going to undermine the broadly cultural conception, is that we have in these days a new conception of what vocation is. We are coming

to see that every kind of calling must be considered as having value only in so far as it renders social service.

We need to have and to develop in education certainly not any less of those fine spiritual values which went with the old idea of culture, but we need to eliminate from culture, as from religion, the 'other-worldliness'; we need to bring it strictly into the world. . . .

Let us remember that work has its sacraments as well as adoration, that there is a spirituality in this new point of view with regard to education in all the different kinds of service that young people can render, such as have not been available to us in the past. Let us remember that it is true of culture, as in religion, that while the sacrament of remembrance has its value the great sacrament is that through which the highest and finest and best that the human race has ever learned in the past comes vitally and designedly into action in the present.

I think we can all remember that stage in our education when without any specific instruction it came to our minds that the object of our lives was not merely to take part in it and provide for our own homes. We were part of a great scheme first of all in bringing to light and making valuable the hidden resources of nature, and in the second place, in filling our places as members of human society for the betterment and progress of mankind. So I think we may fairly lay hold upon what I should call a new Idealism with regard to productive power with every individual, that there are in every child resources far beyond what we have realized in the past. As our forms of industrial education increase in connection with our school work, we, undoubtedly, are going to develop along with technical training these other forms of capacity which will come to the surface. We must not allow ourselves to forget this very vital matter of training, this very practical will power of the child, nor fail to give him the guidance that he needs. One of the most difficult questions in connection with the whole problem of vocational education is how to develop executive capacity, how to train boys in the trade school class to fulfill the most human responsibilities that go with their work, to train them in the great art of association, the greatest of all arts and mysteries, the principle above all other principles upon which modern industry and modern civilization is built; how to train them to dovetail their work in with other people; how to train them to obey, which means in the long run, how to command. It is an anomaly of our educational system that we find these

more vital forms of capacity are developed, not in connection with the educational curriculum at all, but in connection with the side issues that go with student life.

Mr. Woods found himself in the amusing position, only three years after the law for industrial education had been passed, of having to remind his associates in the Boston Social Union that 'such a veteran as he could remember that the present interest in industrial training had come through the settlements,' and that they still had a service to render in helping to make the adjustments to the newer forms of education required by the city neighborhoods.

The still-recurring liquor problem is mentioned in a letter written in the spring of 1912, of which this fragment is suggestive: 'You will be amused to know that certain ardent friends are urging that I be appointed chairman of the Licensing Board.'

Still another letter indicates that he was beginning to see the question in its national bearings. Writing to the Honorable Frederick Fosdick, of Fitchburg, he said:

> It has often occurred to me that the new Progressive party in order to be fully true to its name and spirit ought certainly to include approval of practical constructive reform in the matter of the liquor business. The *status quo* as to the liquor question is the holiest of all the sacred arks of the political machines. It cannot be that the Progressive party is also going to enshrine it. . . . I cannot think of anything which would more surely convince the right-minded citizen in the background that a humanized type of politics was really being created by the new party.
>
> From the point of view of expediency, the new party is burning its bridges behind it so far as the liquor interests are concerned by espousing woman's suffrage; it can hardly afford politically not to take the positive step which will win to its support the great and constantly increasing numbers of patient but determined temperance people in every section of the country.

How sharp the contrasts can be in living in the currents of one's time was poignantly manifest in 1912, when, quite aside from the quiet developments of our locality, a strike in the textile mills of Lawrence, thirty miles north of Bos-

ton, made eastern Massachusetts momentarily the economic storm center of the country. Any adequate treatment of the subject would lead back into the history of New England industry and into the intricate problems of social justice, due respect for law and order, and fair-mindedness as a basis for disinterested participation in economic adjustments. It fell to Mr. Woods to take a middle ground unsatisfactory to associates in other parts of the country and to both radical and ultra-conservative fellow-townsmen, when in efforts at a solution he was called into council and into the discharge of certain unpleasant duties.

From his years of familiarity with labor problems, going back to his residence at Andover, neighboring town to Lawrence, and a continuous knowledge of the trade-union movement for over twenty years, he traced the difficulty as follows:

> In Boston we need to undergo the sharp sacrifice of our fixed and sacred ideas. The feeling on the part of certain groups that their business interests are their own — with hedges about them made spiny with cultural and family distinction — is, often unconsciously to its possessors, the cause of untold rancor and distrust. The hesitation on the part of some of our great employers to discover any methods short of complete intolerance toward the great fact of the organization of labor, has brought within two years in eastern Massachusetts two of the most disastrous strikes in the recent history of the country. . . . Think how vast the gain would be if the next two or three great industrial revolts in this community could be anticipated; the concessions which they will compel, granted in advance; and a new order established by which all such difficulties could be peacefully negotiated.

Even at the crisis when the trade unions were showing both weakness and mistaken judgment in dealing with the situation in Lawrence, Mr. Woods stood his ground as to the importance of supporting their sound structural organization rather than of following a policy either way that would be destructive of their future strength.

It had been lack of foresight and racial antagonisms in the trade union, added to their difficulties from employers' opposition, that had left wide open the door for the entrance of a wholly different type of leadership in the Lawrence strike. The Industrial Workers of the World had moved out of Western mining centers to the Atlantic seaboard.

Mr. Woods stated his position thus:

As suggesting the danger of the situation, let it be remembered that in old New England some 250,000 people, largely newcomers with their families, look with gratitude from the heart to William D. Haywood who, though classed among socialists, is really an avowed and unrestrained anarchist, to whom nothing in the common law of civilized nations, nothing in legislative enactment or judicial decision, nothing in any part of that moral law which is the result of untold ages of human experience, not one single joint in the recently and toilsomely reared structure of labor organization — is worthy of an instant's consideration as against his purpose. . . . It is far from sufficient to say — what is true enough — that these men were not essential to the Lawrence strike, that the situation would have developed in much the same way without imported leadership. . . .

The fact that these leaders should have held the center of the stage of action for weeks, and are carrying away such prestige for themselves and their cause, represents an amount of harm which only years of aggressive educational effort can overcome. And it is an unconscionable thing that, while the program of the Western Federation of Miners when first brought forward in the Rocky Mountains was denounced continuously by every Eastern organ of opinion, we see the chief exponent of that program carrying the attack into the very heart of New England with only a fitful and cowering protest against him from its citizenship.

Of the result, an increase of wages in the textile mills of the whole district, he had this to say:

There is here the most tangible recognition of a crude power of collective formation among previously unorganizable Babels of laborers which can quickly extend itself from town to town and from state to state. . . . Here is a situation which alone could

seriously and for years occupy the whole attention of a National Bureau of Industrial Relations. . . . The leveling up in economic conditions has an important meaning to the whole state of civilization in this section of the country. But the amount of this gain must depend on how quickly and broadly influences are set at work to make the higher wage standard represent a higher standard of living and of life.

Mr. Woods's position did not go unchallenged among other social workers who felt that the way of progress lay in breaking through established order in such crises. When Mr. Woods was taxed with the criticism that the settlements were afraid to take a position on the practical issues of industrial difficulties, he said: 'When tested to the limit the courageous man is afraid.' He believed, moreover, that the settlements had a 'chief function as unifiers, interpreters of moral issues running through our neighborhoods. Settlements workers, as individuals, should be prepared to take a clear stand on issues, which, in their best judgment, they are fitted to have an opinion upon. Most workers, not being students of industrial history, should not come out to urge others to feel as they happen to feel.' He thought that 'the settlement is not intended to become the agency for the views of any particular class.' Nevertheless, he considered that 'there has been no instrument which has done so much to make clear the values of trade unionism. Settlement workers who are prepared should speak clearly about the attitude of the employer who refuses the responsibility of the conditions of the employed, and should create a new attitude toward the matter among contributors. The greatest single utterance throwing a moral light on this question is Ruskin's "Unto This Last" — "human beings fulfilling the purposes of human beings."'

It was not, in his opinion, so important to spend time discussing reforms, which when done should be done with the greatest judgment, but to be 'discerning of the seed of democracy right in our neighborhoods and applying the underlying principles to the human beings around us.'

He preserved, in spite of grave differences of opinion, 'that luminous temperance of mind' which enabled him to 'sympathize with those with whom he did not agree.' One of the more radical of his contemporaries who came in contact with him at the time of the Lawrence strike 'found comfort and strength in his sympathetic comprehension of the position taken by those whose star had led them in an opposite direction from his own.'

A less kindly attitude was that his motives in opposition to the Industrial Workers of the World were dictated by overcaution as to being on the wrong side from powerful industrial interests, and that he allowed himself to be aligned with those who would use the courts unjustly to discipline infringements on the *status quo* with all its injustices.

A picture drawn in review appeared in the next report of the South End House:

> The Lawrence strike threw into the center of the stage the problem of the solid masses of recent immigrants in our New England communities just above the poverty line in their rate of wages, and, at that, often failing to a serious degree in living up to the standard indicated by their wages. . . . This is the first time in many decades that New England has been the storm center of industrial unrest. Riotous and anarchistic phases of labor organization have been conspicuous. The South End House from its beginning has acted in coöperation with responsible trade-unionism and its leaders. This year our effort has been to enforce in the direction of the employer and workman alike, the importance of recognized business-like diplomacy between large employers and agreement-keeping trade unions. The action of the Head of the House in this matter was met, on the one hand, by the warm approval of tolerant and coöperative employers and workmen; and, on the other, by the sharp tangible opposition of the irreconcilable elements at the opposite extremes of this foundation-shaking issue.

Though he usually allowed criticism of himself to pass without comment he gave to the constituents of the South End House Association this explanation of his relation to the Lawrence situation:

It will be remembered that Mr. Woods, on the basis of very suspicious facts, joined two other men in asking the Supreme Court to inquire into the administration of the strike funds. . . . The court disclosed the fact that from $10,000 to $16,000 had been sent away from Lawrence and never returned. A little later one of the officers of the I.W.W. presented an affidavit to the effect that this money had been taken away by the national organization and devoted to uses of its own, which he specified.

It has been taken for granted by some that this action on the part of Mr. Woods was a bare partisan stroke on the side of the employers in this contest. As a matter of fact, it was taken, so far as he was concerned, in order to throw into favorable contrast the responsible methods of the old-line textile workers' trade union, and to help bring both workers and employers to see the advantage of friendly relations toward it, if the political and moral anarchy of syndicalism is to be kept out of Massachusetts. The fact that Mr. Woods's assertion of the underlying necessity of bettering conditions in Lawrence, from a patriotic point of view, led a large stockholder in the Lawrence mills, six months after the strike, to refuse to make his usual donation to the South End House, is perhaps sufficient indication that the general position was not dictated by partisan attachment to the employers' cause.

CHAPTER XXVII

CHRISTIAN STATESMANSHIP

An invitation to deliver a series of lectures in the later months of 1912 at Andover Seminary, now removed with its diminished numbers to Cambridge, offered to Mr. Woods the occasion for bringing into an exhaustive sequence, as a program of practical Christianity, his 'propaganda of deed.' Some account of his relation to the Church and his ideas of religion, therefore, falls naturally into place at this point.

Out of one of the early interchanges in a little company of settlement pioneers a snatch of conversation is remembered which turned on the wording of the creeds and the purpose of life. 'The chief end of man is to glorify God' was quoted, to which Mr. Woods quickly added, 'Not only the chief but the only end.' But in his mind it was not a matter of solitary adoration. To 'aim at God' meant a corporate act with all mankind — the fulfillment of the common life could alone truly glorify God.

A letter of somewhat later date to Miss Dawes, his correspondent in western Massachusetts, says:

> Of two things I am sure. That it is a grief to me that the conditions of my work do not give me a chance to talk in public to ordinary people about religion.
>
> That no one has the right to talk about the love of God to a man when he does not love that man in something of the comprehensive way in which God does. Dr. —— has stated frankly (as always) for himself the all but universal position of church people, when he said he didn't want to have anything to do with the members of his afternoon congregation if he could save their souls without.
>
> Of course no real result can come of galvanizing religion into people. . . . I shall treasure my talks with you about 'high themes.' So few people care for them — except the clergy, for whom they are wares.

In Mr. Woods's personal religious life dogmatic tenets had no place. He did not go to church with great regularity, but he took an active share in the affairs of the local South End Episcopal parish and of the diocese of eastern Massachusetts. It was the ritual and not the creed which attracted him to the denomination of which we were members. Indeed, he never repeated the creeds in the service, though he could give them reasonable interpretation if his help was sought.

The application of religion to the affairs of modern civilization as the animating purpose of the Andover House did not cease to be the underlying active principle to be worked out both broadly and in detail:

> Pervading this great human movement is a strong leavening influence of moral and spiritual power. Little of it, relatively, is undertaken in the name of the Church, but nearly all of it is informed with a motive that has come out of the Church. The only potent criticism to be made against the Church in this matter is that too often the Church fails to recognize its own offspring.

The situation of the Protestant churches in the South End was peculiarly difficult. They had grown up with the district under the family formula of society and the families had fled; homes were turned into rooming-houses filled with an adult population of three times the size of former times, in large degree Protestant people. Watching the process, it was impossible not to become the critic of the inflexible mental attitude of church organizations, which preferred to admit failure and depart than to work determinedly for fresh ways of meeting this new type of city life. Time and again Mr. Woods's advice would be sought, each time the same ground would be gone over, but his advice would not be taken. This was the more discouraging that he could point to the fact that the South End House, working under serious handicaps in the same locality, was getting definite social results on the basis of which serviceable coöperation among the churches that remained could have been worked out.

It was, therefore, with the more poignancy that, in discussing the subject of the minister as the organizer of the moral life of the parish, he laid stress on the idea that the parish exists not for itself but for the community:

A complicated parochial machine leads the individual church to think that it exists for itself, and this clannishness is one of the great hindrances to the influence of churches in cities. When a church has privileges to dispense, these are not unlikely to become simply baits to catch people with. . . . The individual church ought to be in a high sense a council chamber for the Kingdom of God. It ought to be the shrine to which men according to their different ways of mind and heart should return for renewed inspiration and for a renewed setting of principle and purpose. But in the practical work of building up the social and moral life of the local community the people of individual churches ought to go forth into the community joining hands with their fellow-Christians or with any and every human being who will to the least extent join in the undertaking. If our Christian leaders held their purpose and motive with anything like the tenacity with which the great business organizer holds his, such coöperation would not advance at the present extremely disheartening rate. The intermittent nature of its moral undertakings is what loses for the Church the loyalty of the present-day citizen of the world.

These disappointments which he suffered as to the organizing power of the churches later found a considerable measure of compensation in their successful direction throughout the country of the great moral issue of prohibition.

With the greatest expression of church activity, the missionary movement, there had always been warm sympathy, cooled, somewhat, by the inability of its more zealous adherents to recognize other forms of service. In more recent years he had the satisfaction of seeing that 'the present remarkable development in foreign missionary work owes much of its power to the fact that such work is conceived largely in terms of social service and this gives dynamic contemporaneous actuality to religious enthusiasm.'

Mr. Woods never lost the sense of responsibility for the ministry of the Church instilled by the Seminary experience. He gave for twenty years a series of weekly lectures to the students of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge; and he was always in friendly working relations with the ministerial profession, meeting every possible invitation of every creed to speak, serving on committees and conferences and assisting actively in federating the churches of Greater Boston. As a neighbor of the Catholic Church in its Cathedral parish, he never failed in appreciation of the vital quality of its spiritual claim nor of its care of the moral well-being of its communicants.

The main insistence of his plea with the churches was that, as they stirred the spirit, they should likewise direct their members toward the field of active Christian service lying without the walls of the church, having a common claim upon every denomination and form of belief.

The leaders of the Church, as they look over the great stirrings of democracy, are prone to ask themselves, 'What methods shall we adopt' rather than 'To what principles shall we give ourselves.'

It is impossible to escape the fact that the Church, not only in its activities, but in its teaching and inspiration, is holding itself to a close and limited range of human life. It is still saying to its adherents, 'Come in out of the world,' rather than 'Go out into the world.'

In each one of all the infinitely tense and varied relations in which men stand in these modern days, there lies some motive which rightly understood and worked out will lead in just so far toward the highest spiritual ends which human life has before it. At every such point where the lives of men touch each other there is a sacramental relationship, which is either reverenced or defiled. Let the Church, therefore, see for itself the meaning of every such relationship. Let the Church by every sort of appeal to the reason, the imagination, the practical energy of men, get them gradually to appreciate the meaning, and more and more to express it in all the terms of life. Above all let the Church lead its young men and young women out into life's affairs, opening their eyes so that they shall see their daily task radiant with a

kind of moral chivalry and romance. . . . [He thus set forth this] courageous and definite moral adventure: Within one's present acquaintance, or at an easy step beyond its borders; along one's ordinary ways of work and recreation, or by slightly broadening or extending them; some new inspiring motive and absorbing method of social service and democratic coöperation, begun gradually, followed with patience and courage. The consecration, free from this time forward, of vocation and friendship to one's local community's part in the world's movement for a nobler human society. Establishment of a recruiting ground, council chamber, experiment station, for it in one's home, school, church, store, workshop. Enlistment in the conquering evangelism of deed. . . . Escape from the stratified goodness of the past into the Christian renaissance of the present. *Now* is the crisis of the world. The Kingdom of Heaven is *at hand*.

Mr. Woods realized, out of his own experience as well as through observation of the work needed from the churches, that persistence was essential to any adequate solution of the vast problem. The frequent transfer of a minister from one church to another was nowhere more disastrous than in such a city district as the South End. The responsible laying-out of plans that required time for fruition was impossible under such a régime. In the personal relationships of the minister with the ever-changing city congregation, there was need of the same untiring devotion:

his task calls for a lifetime of continuous, and ever more rewarding application that he should deeply understand the material in which he has to work. He must watch the whole tone and drift of life about him. . . . The situation calls for penetration into the new issues of humanity by method of the microscope as well as by the method of the telescope. In a large degree the complexity of society is a projection of the inner complexity of the individual mind under present conditions. . . . The approach to a man in the light of all his social relations is simply the definite and exhaustive way of laying hold upon that particular man as an individual soul.

He conceived the real motive power and objectives of Christianity in these terms:

We are accustomed to say that the kernel of Christianity is not

a code but a life. Jesus fixed his matchless insight upon the present and the immediate future into which it was ripening. His own age he lifted up into the light of eternal principles. He had uppermost in his mind the aggressive, adventurous project of bringing about the emergence of a moral kingdom out of the new-made Roman world. It is this pointedly contemporaneous quality in the Gospel that gives it its ringing note of opportunity. . . . A vital, indigenous faith, springing up under today's sky and sun will win allegiance by finding the world-wide age-long purpose, the elemental human significance, of the struggles and hopes that rush into the minds of men with the light of the morning.

The permanent character of Christianity is surely not that it passes on an influence through which during certain days, life was conceived vitally and afresh; but in that it provides an impulse through which the life of every generation shall be so conceived. It is of the very essence of the matter with Christianity that the particular new strip of the unknown physical and moral universe which is in the process of being discovered and subdued shall appear thus to the imagination as affording a final and consummate opportunity. . . . It might even be said that it is the distinctive objective of Christianity to devote itself to these 'final utilities' of faith; . . . the dispensation of grace, of opportunity has to do with the extension, the fulfillment of the law. . . .

We are watching the growth and execution of big conceptions in business and politics. Big conceptions are equally called for in meeting the world's moral and religious problems. The church would catch more of the secret of enterprise and coöperation from the great activities of the world if it felt more seriously its responsibility for the ethical ordering of these activities.

There are certain spheres of life which one may say have in large part been christianized, such as education, charity, home and neighborhood intercourse, though they have been by no means christianized down to date so that their moral opportunity in the world is realized. Passing from these fairly christianized spheres of life we come to the great activities of business and politics. If these vast absorbing pursuits could be set off on spiritual continents by themselves, they would have the most distinct need of Christian missionaries. We see about us pioneers who dare to believe, and expect to prove, that that form of business organization which sets out definitely to enhance the welfare of its employees, and to improve the service which it renders to the public is also the most successful business. The entrance of this

conquering Christian motive has begun. . . . The future of Christianity in the world depends upon its ability to mould and fashion this overwhelmingly dominant force which confronts it.

A comprehensive program of Christian civilization was indeed the compelling task to which he had given himself and to which he urged others:

The cure, the prevention, the final elimination of disease, poverty and crime — this is the task to which more and more definitely Christian civilization is daring to set itself.

We must see that there is a clear necessity of a direct and specific attack — unrelenting, unafraid, and even unashamed, upon entrenched evils — the Abodes of Darkness. . . . Penetrating analysis is necessary, the steady and continuous strategy in that familiar method of the elimination of factors.

Nurture and vocation are part of the progressive campaign he outlined in which results already gained could point the way to a rising scale of life for all conditions of society.

What constitutes giving to every child his chance? Some lose their chance by neglected adolescence; some by neglected childhood; some by neglected infancy; some by neglect at birth. Conversely the existing outlines of a complete, consecutive science of nurture, applied to the whole rising generation in the community and in the nation, affords inconceivable promise of a coming socialized and moralized human nature and race. This is Christian Statesmanship.

Education shaped from the beginning so as to lead up to practical training for the work of life so that the school becomes a part of life, and not merely a preparation for it. The child advances by a consecutive and cumulative momentum into adolescent and adult life, and is far less likely to come into his full responsibilities a stranger or perhaps an enemy to them.

Many of the disorders of adult life, constituting intellectual and spiritual handicaps of the most serious kinds, are often the result of emotional disturbances and confusion in childhood. The proper application of the new knowledge of the psychological practitioner to the direction by anticipation of the emotions of children, will without doubt mean another clear step toward a nobler humanity.

Ten years later, this last prophetic suggestion was being practically applied in a new experiment begun in the Children's Habit Clinic of the South End House. Instigated by Mr. Woods's associate, Miss Barrows, and carried on by Dr. Thoms, it quickly came to the attention of the whole country.

Finally he saw the importance of moral imagination in keeping pace with the momentum of the world:

> The framing in broad outline of one's social Utopia is to-day profoundly important to coherent thought and progressive action. We must also be tolerant of one another's Utopias, unreasonable as they may often be. All should have the rights of debate, out to the limit of those which, in the endeavor to build up a second decalogue, involve the disintegration and destruction of the fundamental morality upon which alone any higher human system can be built. And while we may tolerate the form of Utopia which implies the sudden passing of the present order and the catastrophic introduction of some new order let down from the clouds, we shall teach with our utmost conviction that there is to be a peaceful, growingly coöperative, comprehensively human, growth and progress directly out of our present way of social life into that which is to come.
>
> For some of the broad lineaments of an Attainable Utopia, I would propose the following:
>
> A vast extension of the coöperative spirit in all phases of industry, applied with great freedom of initiative and in a very great variety of ways, such as to leave ample room for what is normal in the competitive instinct.
>
> The demoralizing element of extreme precariousness in industry and trade to be gradually reduced by the gradual extension of coöperative methods up and down the scale of each industry, and by the study and regulation of the market, by organization among consumers, and by the removal of the present abnormal gambling chances which are dangled before business men.
>
> New applications of the principle of insurance to prevent the present appalling wreckage of capable industrial and commercial initiative, and the disintegration of organized industrial forces.
>
> There will thus come about as a by-product a profound reduction of the extremes of wealth. The disappearance of great capitalists must wait upon the gradual development of the so-

cialized leaders who will have and will be permitted by a socially matured community to exercise, those qualities of thrift, foresight, economic vision, brilliant generalship, which are the endowment of the present leaders in the industrial and commercial development of the country. Without the power of conserving and utilizing capital, there can be no Utopia.

The woman at home, whether by sentiment or by law, will pursue her calling under the same assurance as the man, of a just and liberal remuneration to her personally, according to the quality of her service in building up the state.

A new and vital public life on a humanized basis will arise; beginning with a reorganized neighborhood as the unit of the new civilization, so that it shall become a true fellowship of Christian culture under the leadership of an essentially united local church. The federation of these local units will make the humanized city, state, and nation.

As the whole community becomes capable of voluntarily and continuously making its own higher choices, private luxury will come to an end. There will be instead nobility and grandeur in all phases of public life. The home, the friendly circle, the educational institution, the church, the state, and even industry, will achieve an unqualifiedly positive and progressive momentum toward the decisive object of human society; the fulfillment of the life of each for all.

CHAPTER XXVIII

MILESTONES OF MORAL PROGRESS

The sum of activities for the year 1913 would seem in retrospect to have reached a maximum had we not later lived through more intense experiences. Some anticipation of the drive of these crowning years brought about the exchange of our farming avocations for a little more leisure when it could be snatched from crowded days. We sold the Acton place and returned to summers in Miss Perkins's house in Concord, which we supplemented with a small cottage on a farm of some friends beyond the river. There a patch of ground gave me outlet for physical exercise and rewarded us with the fascinations of a garden. For Mr. Woods it was a place of complete relaxation; he shared the garden chiefly in passive appreciative observation and in its succulent returns. There, too, winter storm and sunshine could be enjoyed in week-end absences from duty; close friends in the neighboring house had kindred tastes for a very casual sociability and respected philosophical disinclination for much conversation; what there was of it was caught chiefly on the wing or over teacups by our tiny fireside. Mr. Woods interspersed this hard-won rest with walks, or chess problems, or mulling his thoughts before the blaze. The world's best literature in fourteen volumes, a surreptitious masculine indulgence in bargains, was a source of diversion and of valuable quotations, though meriting the deepest scorn for its literary abridgments. This latter part of the play fell to me and added materially to Mr. Woods's enjoyment in his purchase.

In spite of his first desires as to my freedom from engagements for the sake of treasuring some time for home life, Mr. Woods was always sympathetic about new interests as they developed. Out of our constant efforts to find ways of relating more fully the lodging-house section of the

South End to the active currents of city development, we happened on an enterprise which for several years was a very delightful experience. It was, besides, very absorbing of my time. A campaign of acquaintance which was being pursued by the resident in charge of the South End House Room Registry brought us into acquaintance with a number of women responsibly employed in offices of large business establishments. Several of them responded eagerly to the idea of promoting social service in ways open to them in the business world. It seemed to be one of the occasions when the implications of our local affairs carried our active interest to an outer circumference of the general community. Mr. Woods encouraged, and his endorsement had much to do with the creation of the first Business Women's Club of the country. In his view it paralleled the intention of the men's City Club in bringing into affiliation women with common interests, but otherwise isolated from each other, who had little opportunity of sharing in the larger social life of the city. The distinctive contribution which the group had power to make was in establishing an *esprit de corps*, and, with it, an acknowledged high standard for the position of young women entering more freely into business positions. The club made one of the first claims for recognition of the place which women for over a decade had been quietly and unconsciously creating in modern commercial development. A number of the members were themselves pioneers in opening the way in their respective fields.

The active share in the organization of the club which was accorded to me brought to Mr. Woods, as well, an acquaintance with a phase of the contemporary life of our day wholly different from the others that we touched or of which we were a part. We gained from it added breadth in social conceptions and an exchange of fellowship with many new people in the complex of the city. Mr. Woods found pleasure in the conversational gifts which were a unique characteristic of the group that we knew best. Indeed, the social event in any connection never found him

wanting in enjoyment of personal intercourse. A woman especially gifted in tossing the ball of epigram and persiflage in general conversation has testified that Mr. Woods never failed in making a fair return; he kept the ball moving.

Massachusetts has a great advantage for pushing forward the advance of social democracy in the fact that its capital is at the center of a great metropolitan population. Boston has a long-established tradition of experimental private initiative in the cause of public welfare which can be made effective through the State Legislature because public sentiment can be easily informed and brought into action. Yet, in spite of this favoring condition, it has sometimes taken twenty years for a sane proposal to be made effective.

Social legislation had been reaching an increasing momentum in the decade now closing, making attendance at legislative hearings a regular part of Mr. Woods's winter's program, though he held strongly to his principle of speaking only when he could be specific as to his facts and experience. There was also the important service of creating public opinion for new measures upon an informed basis. The work of securing adequate data also required assistance.

At this time the Child Labor Law was first in importance in claiming the attention of social workers. Mr. Woods continued to urge that the law alone should not be accepted as enough, but that the 'necessity of appropriate education to follow it' should be recognized.

The Commission on Immigration had been endorsed by the settlements and for its use there was important information to be secured.

The creation of the State Board of Labor and Industries had been watched with active interest, and it was a special satisfaction to Mr. Woods to see appointed as its first chairman James A. Lowell, Esq., since early years attached to the South End House and for long its treasurer. Here was another point at which to help in studying the

effect of the Child Labor Law on industry and school attendance.

In these directions Mr. Woods was more the adviser of the residents of the House actively engaged in such investigations, or of others with similar interests who might seek his help. He was more directly responsible for assistance and information for two other State Commissions; he gave, out of knowledge accumulated through the Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and through years of living in a saloon-ridden district, 'suggestions as to community causes and remedies' to the Commission on Drunkenness. The Commission on the White Slave Evil offered an opportunity to give support to a subject that long had been to him a bitter reflection of social ineptitude.

An awakening to conditions of vice was then moving the whole country to some restraining action. It had been hitherto a question that respectable people would not even hear discussed. In the beginning days of the Andover House, certain quarters of the South End had been notorious. Then there had been a house-cleaning by the police department and the district had slowly risen to a better estate. It took far longer, however, for the Boston mind to rid itself of the idea that the South End was in fact, if not officially, and probably should be, a segregated district. When we were first married, a man of unusual social intelligence, commenting on the quiet neighborhood in which we lived, said, 'Ah! I fear there is a reason for its being so quiet,' with a tone of mystery; he was entirely wrong in his implied assumption.

It was, indeed, a milestone in moral progress that in 1913 prostitution was the subject of discussion before a gathering of responsible men in Boston. Mr. Woods was asked to speak; he returned from the meeting in an unusual depression of spirit, so sad to him was the lack of high-minded chivalry which the meeting had shown in its discussion. There were still men of considerable social sense who thought that the freedom of virtuous women must be protected by the maintenance of prostitution.

Neighborhoods of working people needed a champion in attacking fixed ideas about this ancient evil and in fighting segregation so often seen as a mitigation of the incurable. The answer to this proposal which Mr. Woods often gave was:

> From a community point of view the proposal of segregation always comes against a stone wall, when the proponent is asked, 'In which place do you want the segregated district, where your wife and children would have to go through it, or where mine would have that fate?'
>
> Looked at as a business, the segregation of prostitution would give it two cardinal resources of modern business, the power of combination and the avenues of publicity. The persistent disintegration of the nest deprives it of both. . . . The highest medical authority has finally disposed of the segregation project. It died with the medical conclusion that no man is ever anything but the better for perfect continence.
>
> Sex education is sure to come throughout the community at large. Right methods can only be learned by experiment. These will involve mistake and injury, but nothing compared with the overwhelming cumulation of evils resulting from the present conspiracy of silence.

In this year as well came the legislative enactment which established widows' pensions; to Mr. Woods it was an unsatisfactory compromise. When it became evident that the question would not be postponed, representatives of professional charitable circles became reluctant advocates of a measure that dealt with the problem of families deprived of bread-winners as one mainly of adequate public relief. Another view, supported by Mr. Woods, placed the emphasis on the fatherless living under the mother's guardianship, and saw their care by the State as an obligation of adequate education with all that it might imply of the full development of the children's abilities under trained guidance to supplement the mother's care. His own conviction in this regard had been nurtured by his friendship with Mr. Lane, whose oft-repeated regret over the stigma that public relief placed upon widows and orphans was still an acute memory.

In the kaleidoscope of affairs nothing was of closer concern than the steady forwarding of settlement interests; the importance which Mr. Woods attached to the Boston Social Union may be estimated by the fact that he never allowed any engagement but service on the jury to interfere with attendance at its committee meetings and other appointments. Often he could lend special assistance to an enterprise because he saw it in a perspective of the whole, in its origin, its relationships, and its broadest applications. He took a particular satisfaction in putting into the hands of others something that would give realization to their best efforts and enable them to go forward with a freer stroke.

His work for the South End Music School is an example of this kind of share in undertakings. The school had its origin in music lessons given at the South Bay Union, where pianos increased in numbers and in use so far as almost to threaten the unhousing of other activities there. When the music teaching was removed to a small house, a school with an identity of its own was organized. Soon it had outgrown these quarters and the financial underwriting of better accommodations was assured. This fact was on Mr. Woods's mind when he was asked to address the board of directors of a 'Refuge' for delinquent girls. He found the meeting in an ample and well-arranged house long known from the outside only as a landmark in the more southern section of our district, but having no relations with it. Soon after he was asked to talk to the girls themselves. How dull, how sad they were, he thought, in comparison with the neighborhood girls whom he knew. Why shut them up in the city even under kindly durance which could not be as effectual as giving them an out-of-door life. The house attracted him; it had a spacious air downstairs, and above, as was pointed out, each girl had her separate little room. 'What could be better,' he considered, 'than to transport these girls into the country and fill these rooms already perfectly arranged for the purpose, with the teachers and pupils of the music school?' Such an idea as mov-

ing had not occurred to the directors, but it was a way to get them to think in other terms about the girls; he felt sure that they would respond to the suggestion. So the music school got possession of ideal quarters.

The growing intercourse among the settlements of the country fostered by their federation was now added to local developments. In the spring the Boston Houses were hosts to fifty delegates from New York considering 'the securing and training of settlement workers, broader methods of coöperation, and the problems which progressive municipal enterprise presents in forecasting settlement policy.' The study of 'Young Working Girls' had served to demonstrate the standards of work and achievement to which all might attain by coöperation. The need for conference became every year more definite with the increasing ramifications of social service out of the nucleus of old-line charitable societies. It was important to carry the settlement motive in all parts of the country with a well-defined, well-wrought technique. The older and larger Houses had things to learn from the newer or smaller ones as well as to share with them the benefits of broader experience.

Mr. Woods fulfilled the duties of secretary in terms such as the following:

DEAR B——: The officers of the National Federation of Settlements ask and urge you to be present at the coming conference at Pittsburgh, and to give an address or read a paper on the following or closely allied subject:

The Boy Problem: What is the effect of family and neighborhood disintegration on the adolescent boy? How can settlement resources for work among boys be more adequate? . . .

We have every assurance of a large and thoroughly representative company of settlement people. The interest in the conference is exceptionally keen both on the part of the 'Old Guard' and among the younger workers.

As this is the first separate national settlement gathering in many years, and as there are numerous indications that settlement work throughout the country is passing into an entirely new stage of difficulty and opportunity, the gathering will take

the form of serious consultation about decisive policies. It is therefore hoped that you will regard this invitation in the light of a ranking call to duty.

The clans gathered at the summer outing quarters of Kingsley House of Pittsburgh under the genial direction of its Head, Charles C. Cooper. Here the living together for three days in simple good-fellowship gave spur to enthusiasm as well as to serious discussion. The acquaintances which Mr. Woods formed among the younger workers gave him especial satisfaction.

'One of its most cheering aspects,' he wrote, 'was the presence of a goodly number of very promising young adepts.' There was besides not a little satisfaction in having his native city seen under such auspicious circumstances, as the following exchange of notes suggests:

My dear Mr. Woods: In acknowledging some of the Pittsburgh indebtedness it does not seem right to leave you out. Your city is wonderful and it gives me a new faith in the greatness of human industry to know that it can produce a seer — and one who understands its deepest significance. . . .

Replying to this:

I greatly appreciate your letter. I find pleasure in 'the pit out of which I was digged.' I am glad that you saw some of the angles to which my tribe run. Do not think you have boxed its compass!

Has 'Little Addie' come to your door yet? [The study of adolescent girls — 'Young Working Girls.']

The Head of the South End House returned from such occasions as the Pittsburgh gathering with renewed purpose to keep fully abreast with the march of events. The material side of things must be held to the level of essential achievements. He was dissatisfied with the women's residence as a continuous home and place of work for those on long terms of residence and for a growing staff increasing with the developing opportunity for training young recruits. But in spite of inconveniences, it had a charm of sunny smallness that appealed to feminine taste and to the

neighbors as well. It was necessary in foreseeing a change to begin to unsettle the home-loving proclivities of his women associates. Mr. Woods was definitely beginning to do this when he wrote in the autumn of 1913 to Miss Barrows:

> I am anxious that you should have better living quarters than you have. This is in my mind a very real consideration in favor of a larger house. . . . I have wanted to talk with you about the possibility of introducing some bit of symbolism into the life of '43' which will suggest community of interest in the highest motives.
>
> I have the feeling that a simple, unaffected, but 'nothing wavering' and regular accent on the great things will help much to give us all a finer and broader purpose.

The work was carried into the New Year on this high note; that its

> ethical and spiritual significance be brought out; and its place established in relation to the life of culture and faith. Not only in set statement, but in all the flow and movement of manifold, detailed activity, with what to the outsider would often seem bewildering cross-currents, we seek to keep it strong and clear that the true social reconstruction is not technical, not a thing of recipes, but is first and last, life and spirit; that it is not to be brought about by deciding the relative merits of charity and justice, but only in the fulfillment of the final inherent values of human nature. It is because the settlement is always under pledge to keep close to the human spirit under every variety of outward condition, that it is an indispensable instrument of the higher social order into which we are — after much tribulation, perhaps — to come.

The year 1913 was not to close without a fresh issue in the struggle against drunkenness. The vice investigation had put a new weapon into the hands of Mr. Woods and his associates to reënforce the Bar and Bottle Bill, which they were aware was but the thin end of the wedge in pressing the longer fight, serving chiefly to bring out the facts as to the social menace of the liquor business through its insidious political control and the consequent befuddle-

ment of other minds than those of the drunkards. For it was still taken for granted by the uninformed that any person who attempted at all to reduce alcoholism and the evils associated with it must be a one-idea fanatic. He was, in the polite but damning diction adopted by the liquor propaganda, 'a theorist.' The liquor associations freely predicted that the new law to restrain the retail dealers would not reduce drunkenness. They proceeded to make good the threat thus implied. After a temporary check, the number of arrests for drunkenness began steadily to increase. But they overlooked an important point. Under the new system it began to be undeniable that the saloonkeepers were selling liquor by the glass after their customers were obviously under the influence of their previous drinks. This vast, appalling evil could now be traced actually to the hand of the retail licensee.

Careful estimates placed the bare minimum cost to the State of caring for those arrested at over $3,000,000, the bulk of which fell upon Boston. The steady piling-up of these figures, together with a peculiarly offensive and vicious system under which a considerable number of hotels and cafés were conducting drinking-places for men and women together, a part of the vice system, led to a strong and broadly organized effort toward reducing such flagrant violations of law and public morals. 'It was hoped that an administrative standard might be established, under a state-appointed board,' such as the Licensing Board of the city of Boston.

The test of the character of proponents of social legislation comes in pressing for its proper administration. There is always a hope in the minds of the opponents that the will of the reformer can be worn out. It was now over a year since Mr. Woods had been suggested for the Licensing Board. Mr. Eugene N. Foss, the Governor of Massachusetts, whose political connections with the liquor interests had been earlier under question, was being pressed to appoint Mr. Woods for an unexpired term of one of the three places on the Board. Mr. Woods 'did not regard his ap-

pointment as within the range of the possible,' but this 'political accident' was brought off.

In the *Boston Herald* of December 31, 1913, this item appeared:

> There will be sent to Governor Foss and the executive council to-day by representatives of the organized liquor trade of Massachusetts a protest against the confirmation of Robert A. Woods as a member of the Licensing Board. . . . It deems it its duty to oppose a man who has been for years so prominently identified with the activities and literature of the avowed opposition to license [the Anti-Saloon League].

Governor Foss said:

> I predict that the liquor people will be surprised when he is in office a few months. They will say that Foss picked out the best man ever. No honest liquor dealer, and there are many of them, wishes anything but fair treatment from the excise board and they will get it from Mr. Woods.

The Governor could not, however, refrain from a little joke on the tribe to which he had given representation in appointing Mr. Woods, by saying, 'Oh, Woods takes a drink if he feels like it!' The newspapers caught it up with an assumption of great moral concern as to whether a teetotaler ought thus to be maligned; could it be true? What would Mr. Woods say to such an aspersion? Well, fortunately Mr. Woods did not return from a meeting in Minneapolis till the story was too old for any further headlines.

What Mr. Woods did say was:

> I am conversant with the problem from the outside; the inside will require long study; I have always had friendly associations with a large number of men engaged in the liquor business, including both employers and employees. I shall hope to work in coöperation with such men in securing the full enforcement of our liquor laws, and other good results in which I am interested.

It had been the first time in ten years that Mr. Woods had been absent from the New Year's Eve party of the

settlement, of which, and of the excitement regarding the Licensing Board, I wrote:

DEAR ROB — The South Bay Union party went off very well, although we all missed you more than you will believe. It was exceedingly well organized, but lacked a little in snap and personality. There was a big crowd.

There has been much sentiment aroused over your appointment. . . . The liquor people sent their agent before the Council. . . . Even the Post had an editorial in support of the appointment. . . . Our friend 'Mr. Clarke' [the author of the Bar and Bottle Bill] is feeling very much pleased and has enjoyed his gumshoeing.

A letter to a newswriter whom he knew well shows the temper of Mr. Woods's approach to his new responsibilities:

I have read with interest your report of what I said to you about my attitude toward the work of the Licensing Board, but I feel that it would do a good deal of harm to have these views publicly expressed at this time. I have to work very patiently and gradually to secure the coöperation of my two colleagues on some of these points. I have to wait until I can draw out some of the principles I believe in from the facts which come to their attention. Therefore I should not want the ideas which I expressed to you to get into print. If there were a time when, in order to bring about a better personal understanding, I could express myself freely but confidentially to some of the men of whom you spoke I should be glad to do so.

In still another letter to a business man he said:

I thank you very much for your wise and sound way of expressing your good wishes in connection with my appointment to the Licensing Board.

The position is one which involves many complications, and I shall certainly need much advice and some rebuke. I hope that you will feel a certain responsibility in both these directions upon you.

He wrote to the new Governor of the State:

At the next meeting of the Trustees of the Foxboro State

Hospital, I expect to resign my position as Chairman of the Board.

I am taking this step in order that I may concentrate more fully upon the work of the Licensing Board. Also it comes logically in that, while the past seven years has largely had to do with the reorganization of the institution in its more human relations, the work of the next few years will be concerned chiefly with matters that require experienced business leadership...

CHAPTER XXIX

THE CASE AGAINST LIQUOR

The disapproval expressed by the liquor interests as to Mr. Woods's appointment to the Licensing Board of the city of Boston was echoed by the extreme wing of the temperance forces which regarded him as the greatest obstacle to prohibition in Massachusetts. If his policy were to be successful, the liquor business would be made respectable.

Mr. Woods found himself practically in the enemy's camp. His two associates were legalistic and slow to see the need of changes in the *status quo*. They saw the work of the Board as it came before them in the office and not in the light of the sights and smells which his own daily faring across Dover and Washington Streets and that nest of saloons thereabouts gave to the resident of the South End. The two mornings a week devoted to hearings requiring the closest attention stretched over the boundary lines of the day so that the lunch hour at home would often be postponed till two o'clock and after, nor could the situation be then easily dismissed. The element of combat, however, brought out reserves of strength and, as ever, his sense of humor found many amusing episodes in the *contretemps* of the human drama in which he was both an observer and a participant.

The Licensing Board had very large powers and was not, as the legal advisers of the licensees often tried to assume, a court bound by legal procedure. The personal affairs of the licensees in the retail trade were often inextricably interwoven with the holding of the license, so that the Board might find themselves assisting in the disposition of a family quarrel, in the rights of a dealer's widow, and like situations. Punishment of offenses against regulations of the Board, as well as against the law, that would be at once fair and effectual had to be agreed upon; there was great

pressure at every turn for leniency and individual consideration. If it had not been all shot through with much that was pathetically human, the burden of it would have been well-nigh intolerable during the time when the possibility of getting results seemed remote. A dramatic turn of events later gave Mr. Woods a chance to say what he thought of this particular experience as a public official:

> A position on the Licensing Board of the city of Boston is one which an informed man in his sound senses, from any worthy personal view, would not seek and would rejoice to be delivered from.

Reciting his preparation over the period of twenty years, he concluded that

> a person who had thus much reason for understanding the subject-matter with which the Board was created to deal, might render a distinctive service and that was the decisive reason for accepting the appointment. To many, on the other hand, it seemed strange that such preparation should not rather be recognized as an obvious disqualification. . . . Would its equivalent in properly translated terms be considered a handicap in connection with an appointment to a board of health or an industrial commission?

In facing the issues of alcoholism, and of prostitution in which as well the Licensing Board was involved, the constant touch with the all-round life of the neighborhood served to keep a balanced judgment. 'Their ugly fascination, on the one hand, and their sudden repulsion on the other, are not so powerful when the whole field is seen in terms of the varied setting of human nature and in the light always of specific things to be done.' It was, indeed, a piece of work that definitely broadened the scope of social work in attacking a problem at once 'vast and continually being added to, and aggravated by some of the large tendencies of our civilization.'

It was essential to see the task as part of the great building process of the human race for which a well-wrought system of hygiene was fast becoming one of the great contributions of the twentieth century.

The familiar process of the elimination of factors from a confused equation is bringing a new stage of progress and of hope in dealing with the form of delinquency which is most distinctive of the English-speaking nations. Until now the forces of alcoholism have nearly always been given the choice of weapons. Too often unreason and ill restraint have been matched against their like, with the result of only further entrenching the hostile power.

The nature of the evil that goes with the harmful use of liquors is being analyzed. Such use is a vice; but it is not all a vice. It quickly becomes in large part a disease. . . . It is impossible to study many cases of inebriety without reaching the conviction that though the inebriate does loosen the foundations of the tower which falls upon him, he can have no remotely adequate conception of the burden with which he is to be crushed.

. . . The first step in any great public contest with disease is the care of the afflicted and the isolation of the contagious cases; and be it remembered that in many subtle ways alcoholism is the central factor in a complication of infecting evils. The next step consists in the broadest, most exhaustive measures for removing liability to disease — to reduce those tendencies of mind and body that make easy victims of alcohol. . . .

The third phase must be to remove so far as possible the chance of exposure to disease, to attack the provoking unit in all its dark lurking places. . . .

Underneath every sort of effort should run the consciousness that the appetite for alcohol is but a blind outreaching for exaltation, for the fulfillment of life; and so high a day of emancipation as that of the final release of the energies of a nation free from alcohol can only come through opening up to the people all the avenues to a more abundant life.

The chairmanship of the Licensing Board fell vacant in the second year of Mr. Woods's term of office. The Democratic Governor was required by law, in this instance, to appoint a Republican to the vacancy. He selected neither a lawyer nor a politician nor yet a 'theorist.' His appointee, Mr. Charles R. Gow, was an engineer, favorably known to his profession, but not a man with whom the public was acquainted.

There was now hope that an unbiased outlook upon the problems of licensed liquor-selling might give a fair trial to

the system as a measure for protecting the community against the evils of drinking. Mr. Gow entertained in his mind the conventionally accepted picture of 'the reformer'; he was on his guard, therefore, when he entered into working relationships with a person sized up as fitting that classification. He soon found that he had to do with a man who had a real appreciation of the difficulties of arriving at anything like perfection, and one who was conscious of the danger of attempting the impossible. Mr. Woods was ready to use his common-sense of which, surprisingly, he had an abundance; this was Mr. Gow's discovery. A further surprise was that Mr. Woods deliberately separated out his own convictions about drinking and had a clear conception of the responsibility imposed by a system of license to protect not only the community but the licensees, even to safeguarding the latter from their own short-sightedness. Mr. Woods was, as Mr. Gow saw, a better friend to the liquor dealers than those higher up in their own hierarchy.

When Mr. Gow first took up his duties, Mr. Woods immediately raised the problem of the second-class hotels and cafés, a matter about which there had been a difference of opinion under the previous chairman. This placed Mr. Gow in a position of arbitrating a disputed point about which he had no knowledge. He asked Mr. Woods if he thought it fair to force a decision so soon. The answer was, 'I am willing to wait a year if you will make a study of conditions.' Mr. Gow then proceeded to inform himself in his own way, soon reaching the conclusion that no remedy was too drastic to correct so vicious a situation. He put the solution squarely up to Mr. Woods as the protagonist of reform, saying, 'Now I am prepared to attempt a remedy, bring in a practical proposition.' A simple device, the order for which could be framed in a few words, was the response. It went exactly at the heart of the connection between prostitution and the licensed cafés.

Of this episode Mr. Woods wrote to an absent member of the settlement staff:

If you will look at to-morrow morning's papers you will see a specimen of my handiwork in a new general regulation covering all places where liquor is sold to women. We are also as a Board taking severe action to prevent the saloons from getting men drunk. Our new chairman is a brick — worth a hundred times the late incumbent.

The restraints which the Licensing Board began now to exert had to do not only with the violations of the law, but also with definite improvements in its administration. There was an increasingly active sentiment in both Boston and elsewhere in Massachusetts to support such a policy. The best men in the retail liquor trade with whom the Board came into personal contact were known to be conscious of this more active public opinion. The manufacturers and wholesalers, however, flattering themselves with the idea that they were in a productive business of commercial importance, resisted any interference for the sake of bettering social conditions.

They were able to get fresh support for their side of the battle from those residential towns where men voted for local no-license depending on the neighboring city for the purchase of their supplies. Certain parts of Boston had been able also to protect their eminent respectability by the tradition that the proper location for drinking-places was in the crowded quarters of the city. Such men, though desirous of protecting their own localities from any unsavory element, had to vote for license to prevent Boston from going dry. The Licensing Board now proposed to distribute the locations of licenses more widely according to the vote for license. This measure was intended to reduce the amount of vicious competition which the crowding of the saloons together occasioned. It would have given the retailers a fair chance at meeting the better standards being required by the Licensing Board.

The opposition used this plan to play upon the mind of the Governor as the expiration of Mr. Woods's term approached. The incumbent of the office was now a Republican, distinguished as having been representative in Con-

gress for the district in which belongs Cambridge, seat of learning, a dry town that drank off Boston. Respectability with its privileged immunities was about to be undermined and was drawn upon to help rescue the situation from other less usable facts, to wit, that the policy of the Licensing Board was 'cutting down throughout the city the receipts which had formerly come from those last glasses that overcome mind and muscle.' Besides this:

> The thirty or forty cafés, whose principal business was that of headquarters for some five hundred women of the street, found their occupation and profit to a large extent gone. Certain hotels which were largely houses of prostitution were placed under severe restrictions. The upshot was a formidable combination of saloon-keepers, headed by brewers, who with Kaiser-like determination, that neither drunkenness nor immorality should be interfered with, decided that the base old order of things must be restored. By means of that network of political power by which the liquor interests have so long corrupted the politics of the State, from bottom to top, the Licensing Board was radically reorganized and its policy tacitly made conformable to the interests of those who procured the change.

Mr. Woods and Mr. Gow were aware beforehand of the pressure being brought upon the Governor and knew the plan which was to be pursued.

> Mr. Gow had been informed, on authority which he deemed very good, that it had been decided that a man was to be appointed to succeed Mr. Woods and that he was to be designated as chairman with the expectation that such an affront would lead to Mr. Gow's resignation.

When this had occurred, Mr. Woods brought the fight out into the open by the publication in the daily papers of the full story. The sentiment aroused soon made the Governor aware of the folly of his act; he offered to reappoint Mr. Woods in the place made vacant by Mr. Gow's resignation, a proposal which could not be honorably entertained. A reformer may come and go; the real issue was that the services of a fair-minded, independent citizen had

been made impossible. This was the main point of Mr. Woods's attack upon the Governor.

This conclusive evidence of the nefarious power in politics of the liquor interests convinced Mr. Woods of the futility of State control over the manufacture and sale of liquor. More drastic measures must be found. Enforcement of State prohibition had always seemed to him likely to be impracticable, but a Federal law might in the last analysis make use of the full power of Federal safeguards in the army and navy. To him the ravages made by the use of liquor were indeed commensurate with those of war. He had tried to make this fact evident to liquor dealers and had found them 'curiously benighted. The fact of drunkenness they mentally side-step; fearing it, in a sense hating it, yet intent upon the transaction which so often brings it about.'

In September, 1916, Mr. Woods began to turn a prophetic eye toward national prohibition. The idea began to be entertained in Boston of a majority vote for no-license, an indication that the movement in other sections of the country was finding its response even in this stronghold of drinking. He 'met men on all sides, who in the past had lined up with the liquor forces, now declaring for no-license. They want to try a change and give the "no" vote a testing out.' 'The young men drink not nearly so much as their fathers and elder brothers.' At the end of the year he made the statement, 'I am satisfied that no-license would represent a distinctly sane, constructive policy for this city.'

He rehearsed the obvious benefits, picturing in his mind that background of life through which for nearly thirty years he had been moving with a pity all the stronger that he so seldom gave it utterance:

> Time would fail one for any practiced social worker to suggest how much a reasonably enforced no-license in Boston would accomplish in the reduction of poverty; in cutting off sources of insanity, in intercepting the provocative influence to crime and in eliminating the bait which so often leads to and intensifies the

evils of prostitution. It is true that these evils and alcohol work in a circle; but what an enormous difference if we add to the gain made from destroying it as cause and source, the further gain that we get from its being absent when the degenerate tendency reaches the point of seeking to throw the rein on the neck of the steed. Extract also this savage tincture which so greatly adds to the amount and intensity of sickness, mental misery and premature death in the life of both its direct victims and of those who are bound up with them. . . . What an appalling excrescence, and how little tolerable when the opportunity is offered an enlightened community to anticipate and intercept it!

The following year he drew the attention of social workers, whose indifference to the possibility of any fundamental change was very difficult for him to understand, to the progress of the prohibition movement throughout the country:

To-day the majority of the States in the Union are committed against the sale of liquor within their bounds. . . . Of the non-prohibition States all but four or five have at least one half their territory dry. . . . Eleven American cities of over one hundred thousand population have no licensed saloons. . . . It looks as if the question of the next few years would be — shall our State share in this great moral revolution or shall we be written down in history among the baser sort who had to be coerced into submission?

Without further reservation, Mr. Woods now identified himself with the national prohibition movement and applied himself to helping to bring the sentiment of Massachusetts into a well-organized force. His former associates in the work for restrictive legislation, especially Mr. Arthur Davis and Mr. Robert Turner, again provided a working team that was effectual and at the same time formed one of those happy partnerships that gladden the way.

Meantime, his mind was no less absorbed with his reiterated program for the common life. Speaking at the Hospital for Dipsomaniacs as host to a meeting of the probation officers of the State, he framed it thus:

The profoundest results of the scientific study of the human mind and human nature are to the effect that we all personally, and at the very core of our personality, are to a very large extent made by the associations in which we grow up and in the midst of which we live.

Human personality may be compared to a piece of lacework — a beautiful, exquisite design which is wrought out through the deft handling of quite a lot of clumsy looking bobbins. From each bobbin goes a thread running into the heart of the pattern. If every one of those awkward looking bobbins is correctly handled, and no threads are lost, what a beautiful design is finally worked out. Each one of those bobbins might be thought of as representing one of the lines of influence through the home life, through the community, through recreational life; influences that affect physical conditions and health. The object before all of us is to try to master the difficult science and art of handling those bobbins aright. . . . The special point I want to make is that in the State of Massachusetts, in practically every local community, there is growing a sense of local responsibility and a method and system for putting local responsibility into effect. . . . The idea of having neighborhood life organized for its own protection, for the sympathetic care and restoration of its people, and for the protection of its children and youth from tendencies of degeneracy, is growing steadily all the time, throughout all the corners of the State.

CHAPTER XXX

MEASUREMENTS

A VISITOR to the South End House at the beginning of its third decade was surprised to find that 'it was the name of a colony with six different branches covering ten city lots in all, and having four out-of-town vacation centers.' Mr. Woods had followed this policy of scattering our forces to secure 'flexible, manifold adaptations to meet a confusing variety of constantly changing human conditions.' The district was now constantly overflowed by currents of life from without and steadily deprived of much of its own best vitality by migration to the suburbs; it was necessary for the first time to anticipate the work of the public schools in providing English for adult foreigners. The women, at first, were ready to join a club to learn to speak English, but they hesitated to put themselves on a level with their children by going to 'the School.' It came in a few years to be one of our commonplaces that the clinics and clubs would be attended by people of from twelve to twenty-five different nationalities.

Higher standards in the direction of each department of the settlement were being sought with constant consideration for the finer values in the associations of children, young people, and their elders originating through the House. It began to be anticipated that the municipality might assume some of the more obvious and interesting work which had now passed the experimental stage. There was an added incentive in this prospect to point the way clearly to the best achievements. One of Mr. Woods's frequent admonitions when such developments came up for discussion was to see that 'it was almost in the definition of the settlement that it should be so'; there would still be left 'more difficult tasks, perhaps even the more unpleasant ones.' The only important caution was 'that social work

should be ready at all times, intelligently and courageously to include within its scope all the new problems which may be projected into its horizon.'

Mr. Woods placed especial emphasis upon the phase of neighborhood work that could not be institutionalized, though it could be made an organic part of local relationships. He was ever more insistent on the value of 'an organized, comprehensive, purposeful system of neighborhood visiting,' and rejoiced in the fact that the residents of the South End House in their various capacities and localities could account for twenty-one reasons for being in and of the households which made up the settlement constituency. The incidental intercourse of this 'circulating medium' was a by-product of great worth; the use and respect for homely 'sweet gossip' was an essential of the technique of the well-found neighborhood worker. In talking to a class of young residents in training, he would point out how gossip could be made to serve the spread of serviceable ideas, and how their intercourse would provide helpful substitutes for its ranker growth in untutored minds if in a kindly spirit of give-and-take they would both impart and receive illumination as to effective ways of getting a better knowledge understood and used.

Mr. Woods had some chances himself at this delightful kind of interchange and would bring home the incidents with an appreciative savoring of their reality. So more recently he drew a sample of wisdom from an intelligent mother attending a well-baby clinic who, in telling him how much she had learned there, said in true gossiping fashion, 'You know you bring the baby to see the doctor and he tells you to do thus and so, and the strange thing is that when you bring the baby the next time he knows without asking whether or not you have done as he said, so you learn to do what you ought the first time you're told.'

We often followed in the women's organized groups this gossiping method. We learned that one comes quite soon to the end of an improving impulse if the emphasis is held too long on the bad or ugly aspect of things. When a much-

needed education in public sanitation was going forward, the time came when we saw that our neighborhood women found it tedious, and we decided it was time to swat the last fly and to turn an argument which was ending triumphantly with 'there's small economy in a rotten egg' to something really cheerful. We turned, then, to a symposium on planning a pleasant home, where in an animated circle suggestions as to light blue ceilings had their place along with practical ideas limited, alas! by poor housing.

Mr. Woods's respect for these common ways of life found characteristic illustration in his view of the necessity for the social snobbery that was part of the important ambition to live, even against odds, with self-respect.

It was only occasionally that a concrete reflection of our place in the neighborhood could be caught, though in many subtle ways it was made clear. Here was one of the rare incidents: one of a group of women, returning home from a delightful afternoon spent at a friendly house in the country, began to comment on the hospitality received and said of their hostess, 'She is so pleasant; we do not quarrel there; every one is so pleasant. It's like it is at the South Bay Union, the people there, you can trust them; they do not quarrel among themselves; Miss Barrows and the others, they do not get mad at each other; they are always pleasant. That is what it is to have education.'

Another admonition which Mr. Woods gave to young recruits of the settlement fellowship was as to being personal in one's intercourse with people — neither to generalize them, nor one's own approach. He advised applying this principle quite as much to children as to their elders. It happened that he was giving this talk one morning at the South End House, where an outside balcony provides the chance so dear to the young for repeated appearance, first at one window and then at the next, over and over again. The first treatment, that of ignoring the small boy who happened that day to be the offender, having failed, Mr. Woods went to one of the windows and called the child by name, much to the astonishment of the students, who

had no idea that he would know one child from another. This faculty marks the successful boys' worker in the settlement group; he may lack many things, but not this.

The difficulties that go with the nature of a boy were among the outstanding agenda of the settlement year. Though the time necessarily came when these matters reached Mr. Woods only indirectly, the first-hand experiences of them, which the early years had given, did not lose their significance. An understanding of the bunkers in the game of trying to be good kept an open mind in each rehearsing of perfidy; whenever a boy surmounted his own problem, it was a true occasion for rejoicing. Enough of these events occur to make a pæan, did we but stop to consider. But there was now and again a special note of triumph about the troublesome youth who, when met in his self-respecting manhood, was ready and sometimes eager to appreciate the value of the settlement associations. It would happen, thus, now and again, that returning home Mr. Woods would have a story of a street-corner gossiping encounter with John So-and-So, 'who used to give us lots of trouble — he was well dressed and says he is doing very well; he remembered what a bother he used to be [he had to be thrown out bodily every once in so often], but now he realizes the meaning and worth of it all.'

The fruits of his last years brought rich reënforcement to Mr. Woods's confident assurance as to 'ultimate aims' in the far-off goal. What had been accomplished was a proof of possibilities; a basis had been laid by which methods could be guided; human development out of the veriest urchin could be seen in the light of actual knowledge. It was now possible to speak of 'a national minimum of well-being' which thirty years ago no one dared to prophesy, and this, 'not a tolerable minimum, but something of rightful heritage in the larger, freer, happier life.'

That dreary early picture drawn for the residents of the Andover House by Alvan Sanborn in the 'Anatomy of a Tenement House Street' is followed on the screen by another, made twenty years later from the daily local scenes

among which the residents of the South End House were constantly faring, to which Mr. Woods gave form as 'Spring Among the Tenements':[1]

How can one think of spring without its music, its pageantry, its upward swell of life? How few and tantalizing seem to be the ways in which it can express itself in the tenement streets. . . . The scent of a long yellow catkin in the soft green of a willow stem is not one of the possessions of a city child. Can anything make up for it? His instinctive zeal for making good his losses is surely not absent. . . .

The children are all life and motion, though they are so completely deprived of the materials and background which is their birthright for the celebration of the season. Marbles is for every city boy the first pragmatic mark of spring. Rope is skipped with a variety of figure which befits a more progressive epoch; and the football is anticipated with a bit of rubber hose leaned against the curbstone to serve in place of the pigskin. . . .

The spirit of expansion is abroad. Spring does not bring fulfillment in school to boys whose hearts are of the season. Truancy in spring has an atmosphere of reality, almost of dignity about it. . . . Committing reverie they are—a reverie caused by the touch of the year's awakening, and the wonder of it; and they go about with a wistful expectation that something more of this fresh wonder will shine out in the brick-lined streets.

. . . There is a general sense that the rough outdoor labor by so many of the men, precarious at best during the winter, is now beginning to present a more favorable outlook. . . .

A fine feeling of superiority in respect to cleanliness expresses itself among the women in the attitude of those who make a good start and a strong finish. 'It was a wise God who gave this law to do this once a year. I learn that from my neighbors who do not do so,' says a bustling little woman on her knees cleaning paint. . . .

The general bursting of winter's bonds leads to a quickening of established acquaintance . . . and a considerable unconscious growth of common interests . . . and some of the great problems of neighborly responsibility rise to a new height in the spring. . . .

Life is most like a battle in winter. . . . Spring seems to bring the natural order out as an ally, opening up a new vision of

[1] Published in *The Survey*.

things possible in the quality of life, a new sense of equalness to moral responsibilities. . . . It should bring to all of us in our neighborhoods in our different degrees a clean and high resolve that uncompromisingly, albeit patiently, whatever of the old order of our thought and work may need to be overturned, we will strive that all may have light and air and space, a due supply of material goods through worthy labor, and the true joy of life which is one of the chiefest means of grace. But we surely miss the deepest import of what the spirit of this humble commune tells us if, in our zeal for measures and systems, we make little of the wonder and the power of life that contrives to be lived even now with most of the horizon shut off. Only as the whole being of each person at the doorstep or on the corner is drawn out to its fullest limits, only as it is by its own choice and conviction vitally in-wrought into all our social enterprises and aspirations, shall we move toward the new spiritual order of neighborhood, city, nation — shall we as a people come to have a deep-lying renascent energy, like that of nature, to displace with verdure all the husks of a former season.

Upon this view of his locality Mr. Woods looked with some claims to having shared its more freely awakening powers and with a strong hope of forwarding its means of grace through rising standards of health and better adjustments in education and recreation. The Great War brought the added need of holding the gains that could be fairly credited to twenty years of work.

The momentum of these years was being registered more fully than at any former season; new social legislation was being tried out especially affecting the district, the minimum wage law and widows' pension. The discussion of the principles of social insurance was coming forward. In regard to these matters Mr. Woods offered this caution:

It is increasingly clear that social progress depends very largely upon careful observation kept up assiduously from house to house and from street to street as may be necessary to the point of recognizing and striving to dispose of any unfortunate by-product. This carrying through the process is one to which the South End House is especially committed. The facts of life

are bound to reveal themselves and through them the public can be influenced.

Along with the aftermath of the Lawrence strike ran the uneasy scruple among many social workers and others in the professional proletariat as to giving moral support to the holders of large capital funds. Should it not be given rather to radical leadership which would force the issue of the iniquities of the existing economic system with its dangers of plutocratic control over government? Any man with sufficient dynamic force to take charge of this recurring question would have been received with a certain acclaim from those who thought leadership should be decisive and that the friend of the worker could not also be the friend of the capitalist and remain honest.

Mr. Woods's economic views were necessarily fundamentally related to his philosophical mediating of the facts of life. When these were most difficult, he did not thereby lose faith, but saw the longer road to be traveled, the more insistent need of working out a social salvation that should be general. He saw the socialist as the repetition of the type of sectarian that produced orthodoxy and saved souls by pigeonholing and classifying them. Present-day descendants had an equally mechanical device in a theory of economic rectitude. He advised young social workers to cultivate an objective mental habit — 'to let go their own viewpoint, to cease to be a partisan of any "school" or prejudice, and to arrive at the point of view of the welfare of the community as a whole.'

Though he greatly deplored the debilitating influence of luxury and display attendant upon great fortunes, and the false education these implied as to the main purpose of wealth, the actual expenditures involved seemed to him negligible in comparison with the needful fluid capital funds from which such incomes were derived. A per capita partition of the wealth of the country was unworthy serious consideration; the great need was to increase the productivity of people and develop a grade of intelligence

which in time might bring a better economic order. He thought it a particular cause of rejoicing when the war seemed to have eliminated the last aspect of a leisure class; that the idle women dependent on accumulated fortunes had answered the call of social obligations with particularly fine initiative.

Of the highest importance was the introduction into industrial relations of motives of human consideration. To the Boston Social Union considering industrial problems he said:

> We must coördinate sympathetic approaches to labor problems from all angles — but with a real sympathetic understanding. We must not hesitate to enter into relation with any stray human movement among the new employers, young men who are appreciative of the social point of view.

He entertained the expectation that, with the increasing numbers of college-bred men entering into the command of industry, there would be a rising ethical standard in business affairs. A hopeful development in the universities of giving increasing attention to the social sciences offered the settlements a larger degree of coöperation.

Writing of 'Social Work by Harvard Students,' he pointed out that

> Besides broadening and deepening classroom instruction in economics, political science, sociology and social ethics, the University has included among its collateral interests and responsibilities the work of the Phillips Brooks House Association, through which more than three hundred students are involved in practical forms of social service . . . an extremely valuable laboratory training in connection with courses having contemporary human interest that creates an attitude indispensable in the light of rising issues of the present and immediate future . . . bringing the new generation of students into ways of creative citizenship. . . . From now on we may expect eight or ten thousand young men and women each year from the American colleges as a whole to go out into various communities all over the country and bring a measure of specially trained intelligence to bear upon problems that confront community leadership.

A field of specialized service could be seen in guiding this new potential power in making its requisite connections in city and State. The need and opportunity, Mr. Woods saw, was everywhere apparent, in the 'non-exceptional cities' as well as in 'any sectional metropolis.'

It is doubtful whether any phase of the advance in social work has in it the germ of larger promise than is found in the rising spirit of realistic democracy in the non-exceptional cities. As they go, so goes the manhood and womanhood and childhood of the nation.

A synthesis of pre-war Boston, showing definite marks of progress in a twenty years' acquaintance, still left much to be desired for which the combination of practical humanity and political science might some day be made to count:

To-day the entire educational resources of this community are deeply affected by the new vocational motive. We are moving thus toward the greatest of all conservation projects, the full utilization of the productive capacity which is born in each generation.

The relation of all the vocations to the needs and the progress of the community was a question hardly within the horizon of thought twenty years ago. To-day an increasingly proficient new profession, that of the social worker, exists; and all the other professions have been newly oriented to meet the great need and the imperious challenge of social democracy. . . . The broad organization of business men and business interests was then apparently not on the horizon of possibility. To-day, we have in the Chamber of Commerce one of the most effective and one of the most human of such alliances. . . .

To-day the churches enjoin upon their best adherents the religious duty of pouring their best efforts unstintedly out into the life of the open community. . . .

In the direction of a better relation between the structure of the city and the life of its people, while some results have been gained, we must on the whole confess that we have fallen far short. For the proper housing of the people we have almost nothing to show . . . we have a well-developed rapid transit

system but no result of applied civic intelligence in the provision of suburban homes.

In the effort toward bringing some human order and fellowship, some organic unity, out of the shreds and patches of community existence which make up this great population center, there is probably no great city in the world to-day that is so well covered by agencies and organizations for local social welfare through local collective initiative.

There is no other great city in the world so tragically behind in total coherent unity of feeling and broad, inclusive collective power. The chief failure of the period has been the unwillingness of a million and a half people who make up the real Boston [the Metropolitan area] to give even a serious moment of clear, unprejudiced thought to the vast, common, indivisible interests of the one metropolitan city — which for everything but our mental incapacity to see it — it so indubitably is.

In August of 1914, Mr. Woods was summoned to Pittsburgh by the death of his mother, who had lived to be well over eighty years of age. My own mother was now eighty-six and, though maintaining her independent living arrangements, she relied very much on us for companionship. He wrote to Miss Barrows, with the urgent considerations produced by the first month of the war evidently on his mind:

Your letter about my mother was much more appreciated than my slow acknowledgment would suggest. Her death was an enviable one. She simply slipped away without pain or sigh. . . .

Everything seems to be going very well; except that I recoil from testing the pulse of State Street. We shall all be to some extent in a state of siege this year.

The immediate effect of the war was felt in two ways: philanthropic contributions, so quick to register the uncertainties of business conditions, at once raised the question of retrenchment in the expenditure of the settlement. As we were never far from the line of bare subsistence and always facing growing opportunities, the Head of the House found himself 'beset before and behind with rising pressure of responsibility and falling income.'

Again, as in the panic of 1893, the first symptoms of unemployment could be felt almost before they were seen, so much is the South End lodging-house district an industrial barometer and so keenly were we aware of the meaning to the landladies of unfilled rooms to which sojourners come and go in response to the fluctuating conditions of work. It was the old story of the need of a flexible method of preparedness for tiding over responsible working people that should forestall efforts like the soup kitchen and prevent Boston from being saddled with wayfarers from everywhere. Mr. Woods's contribution to this part of the situation was largely a vicarious one in lending through me the authority of his name to the enterprise of the women's branch of the local National Civic Federation which financed and operated several workshops. He was always eager to hear of the day's events and gave sympathetic counsel along the way.

As a member of the Governor's Special Commission on Unemployment, he helped to urge action on business projects already planned that would absorb labor, and was once more a member of the Central Labor Union Relief Committee, renewing the early fellowship of twenty years previous. His time was, however, necessarily largely mortgaged to the work of the Licensing Board.

Mr. Woods in no way yielded his emphasis on the neighborhood with these new demands nor yet with the entrance of our country into the war. He pressed forward with the constructive principles of the main settlement motive — 'the neighborhood as the vehicle of secular good will, and as the unit of civic and national reconstruction.' Indeed, through the developments of the war this view gained increasing significance.

From year to year it opens up unexpected meanings and new avenues of suggestion and service. This has been particularly true in a year divided into two so inconceivably contrasted parts. The cue of a neighborhood which includes not only all the human problems of peace but all the racial impulses that have made the war, together with a full and varied share of such echoed anxiety

and distress as the war has brought us, is one that even in the present crisis retains its emphasis. We have been feeling increasingly the racial complexity of our community, and the necessity of the world citizen for effective leadership in the construction of a neighborhood mosaic out of such a diversity of contrasted types. The coming on of the war of races and nationalities brought to our minds more intensely than ever that all the loyalties and prejudices which have made the wars of a thousand years are present and vital among the people whom we know up and down the streets . . . the settlement worker may well expect fresh and inspiring opportunities of bringing immigrant neighbors and their children much more fully into the fellowship of broadening and deepening American democracy.

When the war first broke upon us, Mr. Woods's comment was, 'How much has the propaganda of peace led us astray that we should have believed, with the circumstances what we now find them to be, that war was so nearly removed out of the realm of possibility.'

He was, like most Americans, far from being adequately informed about the European affairs of the day. The world was not so far advanced as our idealism would have led us to believe. In spite of this ignorance his contemporaneous historical sense had long indicated to him that we were living through a process of revolution; he connected the Great War with the main sequence of events for the freedom of humanity through social democracy for which the American people had already twice made their sacrifice of lives. As the United States became a participant, Mr. Woods was asked to take charge of a column of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, called 'The Social Settler,' and in his introductory article he made his position clear:

Every good piece of community service must be ready to change its programme over night. The members of its staff must sleep on their arms. It has sometimes seemed as if the exponents of such interests were taken by surprise even more than others, by the coming on of the great war. It is true, of course, that among persons loyally attached to humanitarian causes it would be natural to expect a large proportion to feel a profound revul-

sion to war and all its antecedents and consequents. . . . The vast majority of social workers have looked at the war in its scale very much as they view other human events, not a few of them dark and tragic in the extreme. They have what may be called the ethical conception of current history, a belief in the perfectibility of human nature through endless struggle, a conviction that all cruel and crude manifestations of life can be got over and got by, but only through a patient, possible evolutionary process. . . . They must choose their side and strive continuously under the best rules which at a particular stage can be laid down. . . . There are indeed many phases of the present situation which will serve to give a peculiar emphasis to some of the fundamental motives in constructive service, and bring to a head a kind of public education in these respects, such as none of the ordinary deliberate programmes of the social agencies could have promised to accomplish.

With the desire to press others into the bonds of enthusiasm he planned for a residents' meeting:

I am going to speak Sunday evening on the Humanities — the real humanities being the source and end of real culture — but the real humanities to be pursued with zeal for *fine* and *finished* achievement.

And again, to his chief associate at the women's residence:

Your ten years' service ought to be a supremely happy memory to you when you know what a happy memory it is and will be to ever so many others. I take the very greatest satisfaction in the steady gain in sterling quality and fine distinction which you have wrought into the fabric of '43.' I want in every way to help you to make the future steadily better than the past.

The year of 1915 had its special significance in the more intimate life of the Head Resident and his staff. Birthday greetings, which had come to be a way of expressing the appreciation of his associates, were amplified to make a worthy celebration of his fiftieth anniversary. A dinner brought forth happy jests over the events of his career; a portrait by Joseph DeCamp, and a hand-bound volume of

his chronology in printed matter, were presented by past and present residents. Though usually so ready to discount honors, this tribute was accepted with fullest enjoyment in its affectionate confidence and loyalty, the more precious that in our work we all took these personal values much as one accepts the atmosphere. A comment in a letter was:

> This is the sixty-fourth letter that my semi-centennial got me in for. And I have enjoyed writing them all, as I greatly enjoyed the particular cause of each. . . .
>
> The celebration was to me a thing really effulgent with meaning and beauty. It was one of those things that could only have come out of the heart of nature.
>
> I am only sorry that in the hurry of the world, gratitude has become a lost art. There are times when I wish that I might be able to recover a little of it. Perhaps if we could all feel the pressure of such a wonderful birthday experience, it would return again.

When in the following year he was released from the duties of the Licensing Board, he applied himself to raising a contingent fund for the settlement of $75,000.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE REGIMENTATION OF THE FREE

In 1915 the National Conference of Charities and Correction recognized the progress made by a more thoroughgoing analysis of the ills of society and the improvement of methods for their alleviation. The broadening interests of the conference led to the change of its name to 'The National Conference of Social Work.' Although the settlements had still to stand to their guns in support of the principle of constructive community leadership as against the individualism of the case practitioner, they had gained, at least, a place on the program, a recognition for which Mr. Woods had begun working in 1909 by the address on 'Neighborhood and Nation,' developed in 1914 into an article for *The American Journal of Sociology* called 'The Neighborhood in Social Reconstruction.' In the interval, among the rising generation coming to the conference there appeared the philosophical radical, critic of the economic structure of society, who looked rather to messianic events than to the slow process of modification and development for the bringing-on of a better social order. Such criticism performed the very necessary task of holding before the minds of social workers the fact that the iniquities of our social economic system play their part in the failures of life and that the trouble is not wholly with individual incapacity.

Mr. Woods was not susceptible to the attack of the iconoclast, but he recognized the value of a variety of approaches to social problems and the importance of unceasing concern as to the facts of the situation. He usually met excessive statements with some humorous depreciation, though on occasion with caustic and direct criticism. A letter written in 1914 suggests his position in relation to two groups within the National Conference of Social Work:

on the one hand, the technician in case work chiefly absorbed in palliative measures, though then just reaching out to constructive treatment of individuals; on the other, the reformer who is disposed to attack the existing industrial system without sufficient discrimination:

Personally I am convinced that, after twenty-five years of the case method in social science, we are now going to pass to a new point of view from which the parts will be understood and interpreted primarily from the point of view of the whole. The tracing out of the technique and the mechanics of physical, mental, and moral life is very fascinating and has the allurement of its obvious data. The emphasis, however, in my judgment, is fast shifting from this method. . . . When I think of the stories told me by friends whose homes are in the community in which the finest and best intelligence that America has produced has labored for a generation to make conditions right, I begin to feel that we have been giving conditions far too great weight in this whole matter. Aside from this question of the spiritual perspective, from which alone we can expect to get human as distinguished from mechanical truth, I should like to know whether the very people in this . . . factory or their immediate forbears, had not been drinking worse drinks and engaging in more serious immoralities. I should like to know whether from a psychological point of view the overtension of this factory was not better than the laxness of their previous life in the back country.

The National Conference for 1917 was held in Pittsburgh, when Mr. Woods was chosen president for the following year. He was thus responsibly involved during the time that the United States was actually in the war. The meeting of 1918 was held in Kansas City, prescribing a preliminary tour of duty to the state conferences in the region of the Mississippi, an experience which Mr. Woods greatly enjoyed, as his letters indicate:

IOWA CITY, *Oct.* 17

It was very pleasant indeed to find a letter from you in one of the eagerly awaited batches of correspondence as I got back on my prearranged circuit.

I am learning much about many things, most of all about

distances. The little school geographies which make Massachusetts bigger than Iowa do us much despite and make us the object of kindly merriment.

The four conferences have been very different. I liked Iowa best — not only on account of the subject matter but because the sociability was seen through *à la* S.E.H. [South End House.]

Here I am being given ample opportunity to talk to students and faculty and am being dined and prohibitionally wined to the point of demoralization — if they were not so homey and folksy about it.

JOPLIN, MO., *Nov.* 20

I am again turning homeward after pastoral visitations at Omaha, Kansas City, St. Joseph and here. I should be ashamed to say how many times I have held forth; especially as there is to be more talk at St. Louis and Chicago.

This is real southwest with mines, sombreros, corduroys, sudden million dollar hotels, etc. The folksiness of the people is deeply refreshing; and they have plenty to tell the East. This they do with combined gladness and trembling.

'The State as the Great Community' was the thesis of the address prepared for this journey, in which he gave clear delineation of a government animated with the purpose of human advancement:

The State has its being to a large extent in the village sense of people who pass their days in spontaneous neighborhood relationships which they have learned to direct to effective ends. The state legislature is still in effect a larger projection of the town meeting; impatient as we often may be with its product, the legislature is human to a degree unknown by the city council, on one hand, and the national congress, on the other.

It is of course true that many neighborhood problems can be met within the confines of the neighborhood, through informal collective action or by such local public authority as may exist. There are other interests more or less important which cannot be served by local action but project themselves inevitably out into larger scenes. The neighborhood worker, as his undertakings develop, finds himself more and more involved with a combination of interests that carries him out into the State, widening his field for study and for voluntary coöperation with many differ-

ent agencies and organizations in other local communities, urban, suburban and rural. Thus, he is inevitably becoming more definitely concerned with problems of state legislation and state administration. Here, he finds himself at one with tendencies in forms of city-wide and even state-wide social service which are devoted to specialties in relief, health, vocation, recreation. These specialized organizations are impelled by the whole tendency of their developing programs to concentrate the logic of their experience upon the state government.

The last decade has seen marked development in the standards, the training and the influence of the professional in social work. The coming decade must bring large new forces of spirited and disciplined volunteers.

These reënforcements must be drawn from all sorts of people. They must be the influence through which social work shall be made continuously more democratic. Thus, the reserve detachment of the neighbors in all our local communities should be brought forward to the support of this great cause. By having leadership that is homey and folksy, in touch with those who gather down town in the evening after the day's work, or meet on the church steps after service, there will be a combination of technical skill with human understanding; and it will gradually bring about a new quality of humanized citizenship among the electorate of the State.

Americanization is the process in which we are all engaged, a great humanizing process through which all loyalties, all beliefs must be wrought together in a better order that we may develop a better form of American citizenship, a better form of American life and a new Democracy. America has thrown the challenge of democracy into the teeth of the civilized world. If this is not to be an impertinence, we must become democratic in twentieth-century terms. This democracy must be of a new sort which shall be deeply human, free and fraternal. The bigness and vastness of this problem calls for radical and constructive work dealing with immediate problems and lends a final confirmation to the belief that the motive and spirit behind our work is real.

The necessities of the war brought into use the whole category of social service for which the National Conference of Social Work stands. Mr. Woods saw this fact in the light of great future opportunities. He considered that his

position in regard to the war seen in its long range perspective was representative of the majority of the members of the Conference, though he was by no means unaware that it was not acceptable to the irreconcilable pacifist nor to those with less clear-cut opinions, but still opposed to participation in a war-time spirit.

What he saw the war do for the people of the United States was that it released their energies far beyond any then realized capacity for voluntary action. Here was, in truth, something of the social dynamic presupposed by the enthralling conception of a 'nation organized for righteousness.' The discovery to itself of such functioning social capacity was worth what it cost could we, the world over, but learn its lesson. 'Why not continue on into the years of peace this close, vast organism of service, of fellowship, of creative power?' It was this view which produced his address as president of the National Conference of Social Work, entitled 'The Regimentation of the Free.' He saw that the fundamental principles of social work in the constructive forces of the nation had proved their case and that they could move forward at the close of the war with greater assurance toward the creation of a national minimum of well-being. From the first months of the participation of the country he had urged the preparation for carrying the momentum into the arts of peace — so might there be an end to war for which, he felt, we were fighting.

As the organizing of one form of war service after another arose in our Boston community the value of the settlement and its working relations with the people of the district was time and again demonstrated. One of the clearest evidences came with the trials of the coal shortage in the winter of 1918 when the coal dealers cheerfully made up the deficit of the Mayor's Fuel Committee because its work had been an insurance against heavy discontent and its consequences. The man who directed the work had his training at the South End House and followed, in localities without neighborhood houses, the system of quick home to home delivery of such meager supplies as were

available which the settlements in their districts at once made possible. Mr. Woods had to adjust himself to the dislocations of both home and office which the emergency exacted and to listen sympathetically to the daily rehearsal at meal time and other times of the trials of running coal offices and routing coal wagons with all the varieties of human nature involved, including the episodes provided by the drunken driver and the volunteer dipsomaniac whose good offices were pressed upon us by the cure of souls.

The particularly urgent claim of the winter was, meanwhile, to help Massachusetts to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment.

While the detail of neighborhood service fell chiefly to others in the settlement staff, Mr. Woods kept, as ever, his own quite personal account in the distinctive connection between the House and the neighbors. He was especially concerned as to interpreting aright American sentiment in a company of people representing different racial loyalties, the forces in miniature which had made the war in Europe. 'The kinds of hatred which exist in our own country are a part of the hatred that engendered war; there is a close psychological resemblance between social and international peace,' he said to the members of the Boston Social Union and in simpler and more concrete terms to the neighborhood gatherings at the South End House. The people there were indeed very responsive to his suggestions of how in a little neighborhood those whose natural sympathies were on opposite sides of the battle-line could learn to sink their differences in a common accord for the well-being of their immediate surroundings and thereby add their mite toward a better future. A definite desire for a friendlier interracial sentiment was evoked by the teaching which his own friendliness made clear even with the handicap of imperfect understanding of language. They liked to be addressed as substantial members of the community and in many ways gave evidence of their grasp of the meaning of these talks. This rising current of understanding which

became more clearly evident after the war was one of the greatest rewards of Mr. Woods's career.

'There are two ways of getting at problems, one is to get at the process and the other at the vital power behind the work.' This advice Mr. Woods had given to his settlement associates at about the time he undertook at the request of Mr. Joseph Lee a survey of the work being done by the War Camp Community Service in some six hundred towns and cities where the leisure time of the men in the army cantonments was being spent.

His assistance was sought with special regard for keeping the work from falling into the snares of institutionalism. The several reports which he made show his bent for the deeper personal values affecting both the men and the people of the various places which he visited. It was a form of service which drew upon his ability to foresee sympathetically the different impressions an action may make upon people with diverse interests in the same situation. Thus he suggested that something done by the organized recreation forces for a community itself would serve to interpret the meaning of the social activities for the men. He was particularly concerned as to reaching the more subtle needs of the men, though his suggestions were about quite obvious things, as for instance, that the boys attending a show might get a little tired of hearing reiterated that the people who performed for their benefit were each and every one doing them a favor by coming. He was especially interested in the psychology of the men, saying:

'One thing that the uniformed man wants most when on leave is to recover his individuality. The pull of a new circle of acquaintance however temporary, will do this.' His main point was that the men would all respond to what had the quality of 'folksiness' and to this end he was particularly keen on putting them in the way of seeing older women in a homelike atmosphere, of having volunteer waitresses in connection with food rather than the mechanical devices of a cafeteria; of getting older civilian men to help with a game room; of utilizing what was nearest to

each man's home setting in the way of a church. He had an especial admiration for the way in which one woman organized her local forces in opening hospitable homes. 'The morally weakening effect of homesickness should be clearly in mind; the knocking out of the relationships which are the buttresses of character. There must be new ones making up in zest for the solidity of the old ones.' After the armistice he considered again what the feelings of the men would be; that returning from abroad they would be especially susceptible to the right kind of personal appreciation before they could get back to their friends, and that those who had been ready, but did not go, should not suffer a sense of defeat.

He saw, likewise, that the staff directing recreation needed to be given some help in getting more clearly the broader principles and higher motives of this new type of service. He found, on the other hand, much to praise in the methods of trained leaders who went as strangers into cities and towns to guide their relationships with the men looking for recreation in their midst. The more serious difficulties were found in the 'tightly articulated and quite machine-ridden city,' as he described one metropolis.

The successful use of volunteer forces under a minimum of trained leadership during the brief period that the United States was in the war gave evidence of what the sense of social responsibility might do in contrast with the theory of a quarter of a century previous when it was held 'that each individual should pursue his own interests and follow his bent and out of the general medley some way or other would come the total interest and the total welfare.'

Now a social result was to be worked for in an organized way; moreover, the goal set, it was now seen, could be reached; a higher type of community life was predicable and a 'national solidarity such as American people had never known and had not believed themselves capable of.' He saw evidence to the effect that 'no doubt American life is rich in the underlying basis of local community and loyalty, but if it had not been for a generation of previous

propaganda of neighborliness in present-day terms the nation-at-war would have been far less effective than it was'; and he named Theodore Roosevelt as the great protagonist of this conception of a way of life.

Though rejoicing that the principle of the organized life of the community in its neighborhood units had been so thoroughly justified by its effectiveness for the work of government and volunteer undertakings during the war, Mr. Woods was equally aware of the danger that mechanical devices, being the easier way of carrying the momentum, would outstrip spiritual ends; — that the physical center of a building would be emphasized as outvaluing the circumference of neighborhood life to which the social worker needed to go rather than to depend on intercourse limited to those who might come to meetings; that the playground and its equipment would be accepted in place of the value inherent in the relationship between the club leader and his small group. The vastness of the opportunity as applied to the whole country lent strength to the wholesale idea of social work under nationally organized direction. In it there was the danger of losing sight of the intangible values so necessary to the constructive service that develops personality. The settlements, Mr. Woods felt, must hold strongly to early motives in this period of readjustment following the war.

> What is the nature of our enterprise? [he asked.] Is it a cause, with a large but rather abstract and quite specialized aim? Or is it a project, with purposes within range, brought to a definite point, and organized under a formulated technique? Or is it an influence which tends to affect and be affected by the various causes and the various techniques. An influence we were in the beginning; an influence we shall be at the end. . . . We seek people who want to be made whole; and everybody does. . . . One of the surest ways to be made whole is to be brought into a full round circle of human relationship, interplay, aspiration; — not limited by causes and projects but thrown out freely into a general human melee. . . . When a rounded scheme of social work is actively and spiritedly measured against the life of the neighborhood, the real principle of coöperation begins to act.

CHAPTER XXXII

MASSACHUSETTS RATIFIES THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Outside of its large-city population the State of Massachusetts had been for years, on the basis of local option, friendly to the idea of prohibition. It had an actual no-license majority of ten thousand before the day of woman's suffrage.

Mr. Woods was impressed by the strategic position which Massachusetts held as a possible leader among the Northeastern States if she acted early on the national prohibition amendment. If its consideration in this section of the country were postponed, as the liquor interests greatly desired, he saw that 'prohibition would have been in the almost hopeless situation of representing the action of practically only the West and South, and a distinct minority of the population.'

The organization of the forces necessary to bring the sentiment of the State to the point of action was greatly facilitated by the previous incidents in the struggle against the control of the liquor interests. These experiences of projecting the moral force of the Commonwealth against one evil situation after another had trained the confidence and sharpened the fighting edge of those pushing forward moral progress. 'The crude, callous disregard on the part of the liquor interests to the many reasonable and even considerate overtures that have been made to them — in fact their relentless and unscrupulous warfare against every such overture,' drew the fire upon them of a well-seasoned body of leaders.

The churches were fully organized so that comprehensive action could be secured at any time; a large following was gained among the business men; the physicians began to be actively interested; and many men in political life were coming to look upon

temperance measures as a natural phase of their programs and platforms. An elaborate and effective system was created, and kept in action, through which the constituencies of the great majority of the members of the Legislature could be definitely lined up in support of temperance movements.

Into these foundations Mr. Woods poured an enormous amount of personal work which, with much care given to details, made him an effective organizer. His associates fortunately recognized his political sagacity and were often willing to accept his advice contrary to their own opinions.

As chairman of the Massachusetts committee to secure ratification Mr. Woods's faith in the efficacy of group loyalties gave him an underlying principle of action, while Mr. Arthur J. Davis was particularly successful in keeping the 'endless complications inherent in this plan strongly and steadily in hand.' They were reënforced by Mr. Robert Turner, who was able to bring the support of a ten to one favorable vote of some three hundred progressive manufacturers. There still remained to be secured the necessary acceptance by political leaders of this organized sentiment. Mr. Woods tells something of this part of the story in his 'Preparation of Calvin Coolidge': 'With the imminence of the war, while still in the state senate Mr. Coolidge was among the first of the political leaders of Massachusetts who had been skeptical about extreme restrictive measures — to see the need, the possibility and the practicability of broad-scale action.' Mr. Woods's acquaintance with Mr. F. W. Stearns was especially important in the negotiations between the temperance forces and political leadership. He was particularly gratified by the moral support of the late Senator W. Murray Crane: 'Yes, first, because it's right, and secondly, because Massachusetts will lose her influence in the counsels of the Nation if it does not join in this movement of national conviction.' Massachusetts, contrary to the expectations of the national prohibition leaders, was the eleventh State to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment. She was not, as they

prophesied would be the case, 'towed in,' but acted under her own head of steam and thereby spread conviction.

The National Conference of Social Work had come into line with its endorsement of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1917. It still remained to be said, however, as Mr. Woods took occasion to point out:

> A most remarkable fact about the movement for national prohibition, looked at now from the point of view of its strong probability of success and the amazing economic and moral transformation which it will produce, is that, for its specific promotion, it owes nothing to the accredited social-reform forces. With substantial accuracy it may be said social workers as a body have had toward it nothing more than the attitude of curious spectators. Yet it will, without doubt, accomplish within their own field more than the total result of all they can hope to achieve with their present programs. On the fingers of one hand can be counted the leaders of organized labor who have shown any kindly interest in what may even double or treble trade-union resources and influence. Hardly even a ripple has been stirred upon the face of socialist discussion by this vast tendency which promises to accomplish the biggest result of deliberate collective action in the whole history of democracy.
>
> Making all allowances for the secondary influence of economic considerations, it is the plain church-going people of the towns and countryside who by their inherent moral force are bringing about this stupendous achievement. After having won their victory they may represent the main action toward further goals. It will be understood that they have not been without their leaders — men with the savor and the tincture in them of the historic exponents of such folk — of Cromwell, Wesley, Lincoln.

Mr. Woods's position in regard to the enforcement of prohibition was an expression of sublime confidence in the administrative powers of the Federal Government, first of all as recognizing the moral intention of the people of the country represented by the act, and second, in the capacity of the United States to control her own destiny as against aggressions of the enemy whether from within or without. He assumed an enforcement of the law comparable with that for other large measures for the protection of life and

liberty, and in such a minimum achievement he saw a justifying advantage to the well-being of the country.

After ratification was complete, he said in addressing the National Conference of Social Work:

> There is still strenuous work to be done in the way of securing the full results; during the coming year we are all going to have a new opportunity to take the measure of the constructive, creative possibilities of social work. We are going to have much more to do and say in every direction about not merely making life tolerable but about development and progress, so that people shall not merely have life but shall have it more abundantly.

He saw the source of further trouble in the nature of people who had not yet had the experience of feeling the limitations upon freedom which every law places on certain groups and classes, and who for the first time were undergoing the process of adaptation to new-made law at the cost of personal indulgences. The existence of the law-breaker in society was being more fully disclosed, perhaps, than ever before, but in the light of extended experience it was not so new a situation as many are disposed to think. The liquor people, who call most loudly for one hundred per cent enforcement, he knew to have been

> constantly and flagrantly violating the law. It was without doubt the most corrupting united force in relation to government in all its forms. In 1910 there had been more than 1600 illicit establishments in Massachusetts.
>
> Prohibition strikes up and down the strata of society. The specific evil at which it is directed is no respecter of persons. Essential indifference to it, and to all the political, economic, and moral damage associated with it, has been wide-spread among rich and poor, educated and ignorant. It would be hard to find a more truly social evil than alcoholism. . . . It is clear enough without referring to our well-recognized national tendency to laxity in obedience to law in general that every law dealing with human impulse has represented in a real sense a goal to be reached rather than one already arrived at.

This larger aspect of the Prohibition Movement re-

quired illumination; its philosophical foundations must be made clear. Mr. Woods's concern on this point is illustrated by an incident recalled by Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, a colleague in the Anti-Saloon League. Walking along Tremont Street one day she looked up to see Mr. Woods hurrying across the Common with the evident intention of intercepting her. He accosted her with 'Oh, Mrs. Tilton! I have been reading the philosopher, Thomas Hill Green, lately. I have found in him the real philosophy of National Prohibition — what I have always felt was the underlying philosophy; in short, he says that prohibitions serve to liberate real freedom.

'You see,' Mrs. Tilton went on to say, 'how deeply he believed that the right philosophy was the thing to find and work for. Later, President Coolidge asked him if he thought prohibition was really helpful. Mr. Woods gave me the various proofs that he presented to the President, showing that, taking the masses as a whole, prohibition was distinctly lifting to a higher level.'

He was not dismayed by the belated agitation against it; however this might work out, at least the facts would be brought into the open for serious discussion and in this way wise and forward-looking steps would be taken. This he considered a far more healthy condition than the lack of knowledge as to the abuse of liquor which had been so general previous to the constitutional amendment. Though the process of enforcement would have to be long in its development, Mr. Woods never vouchsafed a doubt of the allegiance of the American people to the moral issue which was essentially of their own making.

The following letters supplement Mrs. Tilton's story; Mr. Woods wrote to Mr. Stearns in October, 1923:

> I have just come across a reference which I think would be excellent for the President's use in making his address to the members of the Prohibition Enforcement Conference.
>
> It is a remarkable statement favorable to the principle of prohibition made by Thomas Hill Green, the greatest English philosopher of the last generation. . . .

Green was at the height of his influence just as Garman was beginning at Amherst, and Garman was undoubtedly influenced by him. They were certainly kindred spirits in a peculiar degree.

Arnold Toynbee after whom the first settlement house was named, and his friends were ardent disciples of Green's. Not a few of the leading statesmen of the last two or three decades felt toward Green as Garman's students felt toward him.

Green was a particularly strong advocate of personal liberty. But for that very reason he says:

'Now the moral end, and freedom to fulfill that end, being absolutely imperative, and all rights being the absolutely necessary conditions of the attainment of freedom and the fulfillment of that moral end, it follows that the right necessary for the free action of a good will directed to the moral end must be secured even at the cost of coercion of the actual will. Here we reach the paradox, the unavoidable paradox of state-action. It uses force to create freedom. In order to face this paradox we have to inquire, in the first place what is the body that uses force, and in the second place, how far its action is endorsed by the living and active will of the members of society. . . .

The State may ask its citizens to limit, or even altogether to give up, the not very precious liberty of buying and selling alcohol in order that they may become more free to exercise the faculties and improve the talents which God has given them.'

Two months later, Mr. Woods wrote to Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler of the National Anti-Saloon League:

I want to call your attention to the following passage in President Coolidge's address to Congress:

'There is an inescapable personal responsibility for the development of character, of industry, of thrift, and of self-control. These do not come from the government, but from the people themselves. But the government can and should always be expressive of steadfast determination, always vigilant, to maintain conditions under which these virtues are most likely to develop and secure recognition and reward. This is the American policy.

It is in accordance with this principle that we have enacted laws for the protection of the public health and have adopted prohibition in narcotic drugs and intoxicating liquors . . .'

Friends of the Prohibition Amendment, myself among them, conveyed to the President the hope that in addition to covering

in his address the necessity of adequate enforcement . . . , he might express his approval of the *principle* upon which the Amendment is based.

The President has amply fulfilled this hope in a few pregnant words which, in my judgment, will have a pivotal place in the history of the prohibition movement, and perhaps in the constitutional history of our government. I fear that some of those who are accustomed to have a big idea set forth only through elaborate turns of expression may hardly realize its significance.

To his colleague in the Settlement Federation, Dr. John L. Elliott, he wrote:

. . . Is the law merely a traditional doctrine and ritual, or is it a living thing, growing through the total inner metabolism and outer functioning of the body politic? Every law necessarily puts a crimp on somebody. . . . I am not sure but that the best results of prohibition will be in giving us all a new really human, really scientific and really democratic conception of the evolutionary legal process. . . .

The great present trouble is with the leniency of the law, the judges and the juries. . . . Every form of organized public sentiment should be brought to bear upon all public officials whose negative attitude is conducing to violation of the law.

Study of the facts as to the attitude of Congress will show any unprejudiced person that the law is not going to be relaxed. We must urge that the only way out of the present situation is the way through. . . . A broad and varied policy and program of education is going to be needed . . . ten years will leave a few black spots which will be the object of disgust and contempt of the American people whether they are in the Southern mountains or along Broadway.

Mr. Woods lived long enough to see some of the changes for the better to which he had looked forward. Particularly to the people of Irish antecedents he had felt that the loss of drink would mean a restoration of native powers of exceptional quality. A conversation between a Catholic clergyman and some social workers gave him special satisfaction; replying to a question about the effects of prohibition the priest said: 'Prohibition has brought great benefits to my people. I do not believe in the theory of

prohibition; I do not believe that you can make good men by an act of Congress. But indeed the gains which prohibition has brought are so great that I could almost wish I might be proved wrong about the principle.' Of the labor attitude Mr. Woods remarked, 'A significant, pervasive silence — it must be construed as eloquent testimony of improved conditions among the rank and file.'

A walk home now through the erstwhile saloon district had its accompanying chuckle as at well-known corners he saw first one and then another former grogshop turned to the uses of legitimate retail trade. New furniture stores especially were frequent items of comment as suggesting that some part of the $40,000,000 once spent on drink was being used to make a more comfortable and happier home life. The failure to materialize of any 'substitute for the saloon' as the poor man's club, for a time so heralded, proved that when men are thoroughly sobered up they find their families interesting even when the habitation has such limited capacity as was formerly considered the excuse for the saloon.

One of the satisfactions of living in the thick of things is the surprising way in which reënforcing evidence comes to hand. This is, indeed, one of the contributions of gossip in making the world go round, as any good politician will admit. So let me add a little story to conclude this chapter. One afternoon Mr. Woods and I were both at home: the doorbell rang and I answered it, as was my wont when at hand. A man of reassuring personal presence wanted to see Mr. Woods. I invited him in and from the opening of the interview I concluded that he was from one of the daily papers. Then he seemed to be staying a long time, for Mr. Woods knew how to detach himself from such conversations when he wanted to. Looking into the room, I could see they were both absorbed.

My curiosity was later satisfied. In general talk this man had recalled the days of the Bar and Bottle Bill. He had been at that time a secretary to one of the leading associations of brewers. 'Tell me, then,' said Mr. Woods,

'why the brewers were so unwilling to support any measures for reducing the sale of the stronger drinks — such as proposals from the Licensing Board for increasing the number of places for beer and light wines and reducing the number selling the highly inebriating liquors.' 'Ah,' said the caller — 'it was whiskey that paid the saloon-keepers' bills to the brewers who held the mortgages on the saloons. They could not afford to dispense with whiskey.'

This was a very interesting statement which Mr. Woods was extremely glad to hear. He made use of it we may be sure.

We have his epilogue:

The Past Unveils the Future

As settlement worker and hospital trustee, I followed hundreds of alcoholic tragedies; and never found liquor dealers facing their share of the trouble.

The saloon, I learned from authority, was a democratic necessity. Beer was perishable. The rich man had his refrigerator. The poor man hadn't and must be supplied by the glass.

But my dream of a beer saloon was shattered by the brewers! Beer was only 'a chaser.' Moreover, whiskey produced the saloon's big profit to pay the brewing control for supplies, rent and interest.

So, with prohibition relaxed:

The intelligence levels of the trade would continue according to sample.

Beer would reinstate the saloon; with every facility for bootleg whiskey as the fiery precursor.

The 'harmless' Continental café would again set up its marketplaces for prostitution.

The brewery trust would leap back into the saddle as enemy-in-chief to decent Americanism.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE WORLD EMPIRE OF THE DISINTERESTED

To know a single cosmopolitan neighborhood is to have some sort of introduction to every community in the world; after one has seen the great world, neighborhood issues and opportunities take on something of its infinity.

R. A. W.

The period of adjustment after the war held many anxious questions for the responsible head of an active social enterprise upon which the neighborhood itself brought a growing pressure through its confidence and good will. Financial needs had to be met; the day of community chests was at hand in many places, stimulated by the experience of the war and the reaction of donors from the repetition of drives for funds by one society after another. Mr. Woods saw the importance of bringing the judgment of social workers as to their own field of work into intelligent accord so that it might be effectively used in the counsels of business men who might assume the lead in raising funds without real knowledge of the aims and technique of the social work to be supported. There was concrete evidence of a disposition in certain directions to try to determine control on the basis of financial power without any broad conceptions of constructive social action.

Mr. Woods's most immediate task was to bring to a conclusion the history of the settlements of the country and to get the book out upon its interpretative service to students and others in the general field of social work.

During the year of 1918, he had replied to an offer of a university chair:

> I am attached and involved with complete conviction in the immediate task and the general cause to which I have devoted nearly thirty years of my life, and it would not be possible for me from my point of view to consider pulling up roots so deep and vital.

In the midst, then, of getting more deeply absorbed than

ever for another decade or so in the sound establishment of the settlement, the suggestion of a year's vacation would have seemed at the first instant a serious interruption had it not been offered in the terms of world circumnavigation.

In spite of all the things that claimed his attention he quickly saw the invitation as 'one of the things one does not refuse.' He announced the unexpected prospect of a year's absence to Miss Barrows, herself then away on a prolonged leave:

Our friend, Mr. Galen L. Stone, came to the House yesterday to see Eleanor and me with one of his characteristic proposals.

His son Robert is going to be married to Miss Barnes in June. He is going to give them a trip around the world to begin in September [1919] and he wants Eleanor and me to go with them.

He has been eager that his children should have the largest advantages of education. In the proposed trip, Mr. Stone wants both the young people to come in touch with some of the big underlying realities of human nature and spirit, and hoped that Eleanor and I would help them in this respect, without any sort of emphasis that would prevent the whole quartet from having a wonderful time for a year.

When he left and we had a chance to recover, you can imagine that we had passed from being inhabitants of a flat earth and could see only the great globe.

Our going will mean for the time the disappearance of what I hope are two props to you in carrying your happy — and, on rare occasions, unhappy — burdens. But I believe that there will be real compensations of different sorts in the altered perspective, and I have not a moment's doubt that everything will move forward under the stimulus of my letting go.

During the coming five or six months I intend to do a special job of preparedness for the next year's work at the House.

We hope that we shall have your approval; and that you will share our confident feeling that many kinds of good things for the future of the House will result.

To Mr. Stone went this final acceptance:

And now, sir, all things needing to be done having been done — the Authorities having gladly waved us off, our Colleagues being swept in a great current of emotion as if the entire house-

hold were to take ship to-morrow, and the two young companions being so generous as to share with us the nimbus of their honeymoon — we accept your royal proposal, and shall seek to secure for the whole party, the realization of the high meanings and privileges with which it is full and overflowing.

To Mr. Paul Kellogg, of the *Survey*:

I shall be glad to talk with you when you are in Boston about the possibility of some Parthian shots as I go around the world. I am a bit concerned lest sightseeing should become so absorbing as to hinder one in opening the pages of the real book.

A letter written from the National Conference of Social Work meeting at Atlantic City the same spring:

. . . The greatest moral show is the greatest ever; and the extravagances of the Order of Poverty are passing all bounds.

Miss Lathrop is covering herself with glory. It is very hard to know what is going on as I am tied to the Local Community Section and the Executive committee. But everybody seems to be well pleased.

A few of the order go riding in the great procession of the wheel chairs — the chief object of which is to be seen by those who sit in wheelless chairs with their backs to the ocean.

The settlement gathering in Philadelphia went off quite pleasantly. It seemed to do Philadelphia good to play the host. Some had suppressed emotions because they came to talk and could only listen. This is the tragedy of all conventions.

Generous farewells from neighbors and associates are epitomized in a letter from Dr. Tucker:

I take it you cross the continent and plunge at once into the Far East. . . . I am glad that you are proposing to take semi-official notes through competent aides. We shall count very much on your 'vibrations.'

I am delighted that you consent to the dedication of 'My Generation.'

What a trip it will be for eyes and ears and for the long after thought. Perhaps no later year could be of the same use. Certain it is that nobody can get any reliable information, or much sound judgment here.

So good-bye to you and Mrs. Woods, with our warmest love

and ardent good wishes. How good it will be to follow you — and if God will, to welcome you back. In any event the welcome will be in waiting — the welcome of many hearts and the welcome of the work.

The threat of a strike of the police in Boston had been rumored before our departure, but such an untoward event had not seemed within the range of possibility. The news of this catastrophe, reaching us on our arrival on the Pacific Coast, gave us a strange sense of being deserters from duty.

Enough of the tale of our journey and its reflections got into the few letters that Mr. Woods wrote to carry on the narrative.

Concern about the strike prompted a letter to Miss Barrows from Los Angeles:

We have of course felt greatly concerned about the news from Boston. The headlines have been very serious; the text not so much so. Eleanor has stoutly refused to believe that things were as bad as they were painted. In any case they are bad enough and we feel quite like truants. 'Lady Bug, Lady Bug,' is the little air that is singing in my head.

My only suggestion — and I do not think this will come too late — would be to place great confidence in our friends and neighbors but to prevent your household from taking any sort of needless risk; and to go on special regulations for a long time after they are needed. . . .

I should feel that this situation ought to give a great impetus to all that we are interested in. The eruption of the volcano shows what is always underneath.

To-night we move on to the Yosemite.

[From San Francisco:] The night message from '43' was a real woman's postscript containing all sorts of good things.

I am greatly pleased to know that the South End maintained its dignity so well. Boston has faded in the perspective and we don't know what the aftermath is. Myself, I think the cops should be well spanked and taken back. . . .

We expected to sail to-day, but we are enjoying a little strike of our own. The stevedores are refusing to steve. And I wish that no strike ever fretted anyone more than this one frets me. It is a case of the more rain, the more rest. It is already with me

a condition of *dolce far niente*. If anybody else said it, I would look up what it means.

It has seemed as if every day was our next since arriving here. . . . Now we are going on a non-union loaded ship, but the strike does not have the general sympathy of the union men. The leaders have wanted to settle it, but a minority of extremists have balked them.

Meanwhile we have had a very interesting time. We have got well acquainted with Miss Ashe who is the leading exponent of settlement interests here. . . . She represents the best traditions of the city, is very intelligent and has a wonderful vitality. . . .

As I look out toward the Pacific this seems quite as much like farewell as our adieux in Boston. . . .

Just as I inscribed my name there came to my mind's eye a little vision of the '43' dining-room with the full quota around the table.

For the first residents' meeting of the year Mr. Woods sent back from San Francisco a message somewhat more than usually personal. He took, as he said, two texts:

One is the ancient familiar proverb: 'You must be yourself your palace or the world's your gaol.' I find now as I have found on all previous journeys, that there is no magic, even in the great world, to make us other than we are. It is one of the solemn realizations of life that whatever parts of our nature are dark-shuttered, stubbornly, are so even in the most radiant scenes, and respond only very gradually to the stirring outward appeal. The real change comes from a sort of elemental influence through which the deeps within learn to respond to the deeps without. . . .

Being yourself your palace right at home is not only the greatest of achievements but the richest of satisfactions; and it is the sure and only way to find the world a palace when you wander out of it.

With the second text he developed a theme which he introduced into the speeches made during our travels:

Seeing that all these things will be dissolved, what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness? [He found in it a clue for the meaning of] all the confusing and anxious strivings through which we are passing which make up the social revolution. It is a profound social revolution; though

as always in similar past crises, people do not recognize the vastness of the drama of which they are a part. To the men and women of the settlements the challenge comes in an urgent and even in a poignant way: at what central and critical point in the battle shall we throw ourselves in. 'Conversation' means the whole spirited range and scope of life in all its varied cross currents. An alternate reading for 'our conversation is in heaven' is 'our citizenship is in heaven.' The final ideal of conversation is in the completest relationship which a better world would afford. . . . The vital godliness of to-day must keep us apart from and above all respect of persons, all special consideration of any group or class. We need to pledge ourselves anew to common — that is — universal — humanity.

. . . Democracy is as wide and as long range in its meaning. It was originally based upon the perfectibility of human nature; upon the divine destiny of all men. . . . In former days, the settlements felt that as no respecters of persons they must, at great cost, endeavor to open the way for the forces of industrial democracy. To-day these forces, so far as sheer momentum is concerned, need no supplement from without. But there is the haunting fear that rises in the minds of those who have had the high privileges of life, of culture and of religion, who are in their degree inheritors, the guardians, the propagandists, of the great spiritual treasures of the race — whether the rough impulses of democracy may not crowd out and trample under foot the one thing needful. . . . As the messengers of the spirit — of all that is pure and lovely and of good report — without respect of persons, we can and must play an indispensable part, in bringing the inward and lasting fulfillment of the world's hopes.

A letter dated from the 'Tropic of Cancer' to Mr. Kennedy gives a picture of the voyage:

I was somewhat a victim of the sea for three days but have felt well since. Still while the Pacific is wonderfully living up to its name we have a group of missionaries on board with a raft of more than missionary children; and while they are good fun they are not conducive to work. . . .

Our trip thus far is most satisfactory. I am beginning to feel wonderfully irresponsible. Our traveling companions are most satisfactory young friends. . . .

Aside from the broad and quiet expanse of ocean, the great

fascination of the scene is in the clouds, particularly in the early evening. Their shapes have a peculiar quality of grace such as one has never seen before.

Please tell Bobby and Fitzroy that when I woke up this morning and looked out of my window I saw a whole flock of flying fishes. They are very white and quite small. They do not really fly. They get a good start in the water and then spread the broad fins and glide through the air.

To-morrow we have the double excitement of landing and embarking on the same day [Honolulu].

This visit has its settlement record: 'I have spent a little time with Rath. We must put him down among our big local people. . . . Now we are off for the big jump.'

A busy time in Japan and China precluded letter writing and it was not until January that Mr. Woods was again in the mood. Perhaps he was stimulated to it then by being able to date his letter to Mr. Kennedy from 'Djokjakarta':

Since leaving Hong Kong we have been at Singapore over a week, and are now finishing a week in Java. Hong Kong and Singapore are very fine cities — two of the greatest ports in the world — both remarkable examples of what the English can make out of nothing. Java is full of interest — its Malay people, its landscape — to-day we are in sight of a smoking volcano — its agricultural development and its remains of Indian temples. The Dutch have done wonders in developing the natural products of the island, but I doubt whether they have done as much for the people as the Spanish did in the Philippines.

I am preparing a little account of the situation in China for the Survey. There as in Japan we had unusual opportunities of association with leaders of opinion, native and foreign. The possibilities of developnent in China, economic and moral, during the next fifty years are full of dramatic appeal. . . .

When the news of our impending journey first got about, Mr. Woods had been asked by Mr. John Glenn, of the Russell Sage Foundation, to make some inquiries as to the part that trained social workers might have in the future of the foreign mission field, particularly in China. The

inquiry had the interest of the American secretarial staff of the Young Men's Christian Association in China. The connection which was thus made for us opened opportunities of seeing the countries of Asia which we visited with the help of some of the most sympathetically enlightened of our compatriots and their associates among the friendly nationalists of each country.

We found ourselves at each stage of the journey in company with people of energy and enthusiasm for the cause, not only of each nation, but of a world, organized for righteousness. Sitting in conference we heard notable representatives of the modern Asiatics set forth what were for them the practical steps of the crusade. The admission explicitly made by one leader to Mr. Woods that the service of his people in which he was engaged depended on the Christian influence of the Occident was in general a tacit understanding. There was always an eagerness to talk of what would make for political progress and what the United States might do to reassure the East of the better part in human relationships.

Mr. Woods made numerous addresses in which he endeavored to show the moral advances in the United States in the midst of many counter currents of which disturbing rumors are prevalent in the Orient. His association with the Prohibition movement enabled him to present its dramatic forward drive. Particularly in Japan and India this story found an attentive hearing.

As we traversed India and came finally into the maelstrom of the Near East, we were more and more deeply impressed with our own ignorance dating back to our early study of geography. This fact became the more poignant as we realized on what inadequacies of information the citizen of a distant nation is called upon to form judgments and to make decisions of world importance. To my query, 'What will you dare to say if you are asked about the political problems of the East after such cursory acquaintance with such a wide and complicated field?' Mr. Woods replied, 'I shall not say much, but there is one

IN A TOKIO PRIVATE GARDEN, OCTOBER, 1919

thing I feel thoroughly justified in and shall not hesitate to say: "The whole price of democracy has got to be paid."'

Letters meeting us from across the Atlantic after our slow progress of sixteen days through the Red Sea from Colombo began to bring us within range of home duty. Mr. Woods faced with equanimity the news that the women's residence of the South End House was settling on the insecure foundations of made land affected by nearness to the harbor, and was considered no longer safe for occupancy. He answered Miss Barrows's report of the situation from Cairo:

> It gives us something of a shock to hear that you are being driven out of '43.' We shall sorrow not as those without hope; because while this will mean a good deal of real inconvenience, it will serve to hasten the day of the new and adequate house.
>
> As to the immediate situation, Eleanor and I will be greatly pleased to have you take 16 Bond Street. . . .
>
> We shall be back as near to September 1 as steamships will allow. Meanwhile we continue to have a wonderful time. To-day it was the pyramids and the sphinx.
>
> Our whole experience means at least as much as we anticipated. Instead of being 'fed up' as some of our fellow-voyagers are, we feel that the best is yet to be. . . .

So we proceeded from Cairo to Jerusalem by rail. Instead of spending Commencement at Amherst College, as was Mr. Woods's usual custom, we found ourselves in Beirut, where at the American Syrian University the atmosphere was as near to being that of its New England forbear as the spirit of men can give similar impress to their divergent surroundings wherever they may find themselves. Before leaving Boston, its president, Howard Bliss, had been with us at Sunday dinner and we had looked forward to meeting him again in his own scene, until there came to us in Egypt the news of his death. A special sense of fellowship came of being with our countrymen there in their fortitude and their courageous forward-looking acceptance of this great sorrow.

We were not disappointed in the expectation that the

culminating leg of our journey would be the most rewarding. A letter sent in duplicate to Dr. Tucker and Judge Lowell recorded Mr. Woods's impressions, written as we waited in Beirut for a steamer to take us to Constantinople:

We have now completed our tour through the Holy Land and are turning our faces toward Europe and home. There is a certain lack of confidence in our outlook as the boats to Constantinople are few, irregular and slow.

Our experiences in Palestine have been in the large result deeply satisfying and inspiring. Of course shrines have been erected at every place having any conceivable sacred association (with one striking and suggestive exception, the scene which was certainly the background of the parable of the Good Samaritan); and these are rarely convincing or appropriate. But you come after a time in a certain way to accept these things for what they are, and to respect them as the embodiment of a great phase of historic Christian sentiment.

The profound and vital appeal, however, and this is far beyond all question, is in the general scene and atmosphere, and in the local setting of the great episodes in the Bible story. The Holy Land is beautiful and dramatic in a surprising degree. For color it surpasses anything that we have seen. As a whole it might support Geddes' theory of high inspiration and achievement.

It is of course difficult to estimate all the effects of this experience upon one's thought; but my deepest impulse is one of a vastly stirred sense of wonder at what Jesus Himself set forth to say and do, and of greater indifference than before as to what others said or thought about him, including reports of his birth and death.

This resultant is much affected by the really elemental experience of working through the objective backgrounds and phenomena of religion in Japan, China, and India before coming to Palestine.

. . . The English are making an excellent start in Palestine. They already have a well-organized sanitary administration, manned locally by young Syrians from the medical school of the American College at Beirut. There is, however, much dissatisfaction among the Arabs who make up the great bulk of the population, over the promise England has made to the Jews. I am satisfied, however, that England intends, so far as the public

administration is concerned, to build up an equitable representative system with a view to ultimate self-government within the empire. . . .

As to American responsibility in this part of the world, I had felt that we should as a nation be ready to carry a part of the burden of public reorganization. But a nearer view makes it seem quite impracticable for us as a government to do this. The Armenians present a most baffling problem from every point of view, and their situation would require a considerable army for their protection. I can hardly see the American people willing to maintain an army for the sake of the Armenians.

But the Near East has a present in a very decided sense. Every little national group is perfectly satisfied that it has received a specific promise from America that it shall be independent. The least fitted for self-government are of course the ones that demand the most. . . . In general, however, they would all be fairly content to have such government as England provides. . . .

The conclusion which has been more and more thoroughly driven home to me, as I have gone from country to country, is that whether before or after it is proclaimed, whether preceding or following the suffrage, the whole task of education in coöperation and loyalty has got to be performed. Resolutions and fiats are comparatively meaningless; and I have come to believe that the English method of having the fiat come after the concrete educational process is well under way is much better than ours of issuing the fiat in the beginning and trusting to good will, manifest destiny or the spur of imminent national danger, to carry us through. As applied to an essentially Anglo-Saxon people with 1000 years of democratic evolution behind it, this may be a tolerable policy but for the dark races it can only mean disaster.

From Constantinople he wrote of the progress of the journey:

Now we have arrived in Europe. We had a cruise of ten days; landed at Cyprus, Rhodes and Smyrna and passed numerous classical islands. At Mersina, we were awakened one night by a French cruiser shelling the Turkish nationalists who were trying to take the place. The next day over fifteen hundred refugees with such goods as they could scrape together were taken on our ship, creating an almost impossible congestion. . . .

We came up the Dardanelles past the scenes of the Gallipoli

battles; and we took boat through the Bosphorus to the Black Sea. To go through the straits gives one a really thrilling sense of many historic episodes from Homer down. . . .

And now we are amid the charmed scenes in which the glory of Greece was enacted. We are coming from Olympia and going to Delphi.

The first sense of real return came to us in Greece, where, though strangers in a far country, we seemed to have suddenly found a familiar way as we mounted the steps of the Acropolis. But for Mr. Woods, getting to London was a significant part of the actual home-coming. To wander through its byways and to regard in leisurely fashion the contents of apparently insignificant shop windows gave him the feeling of being at the center of his world. Had there been a free choice of a place to live instead of a directing destiny, he would surely have been a Londoner.

It was, however, with a full appreciation of our native land and of its glories that we found ourselves once more in New England in the midst of autumn's pageantry with its glowing suggestion of well-being, the like of which no other scene had given.

To his colleagues of the Boston Social Union Mr. Woods in his greeting said that among them, in the midst of one of his strongest interests, he felt that he was really back home with his confidence in the Settlement idea deeply and strongly reaffirmed. He had found the settlement language

a universal one and the interest one which best equipped a person to understand life the world over. . . . In China one's childhood conception of the Chinese came face to face with the real intelligence and gentle consideration of the people. . . . In India the misery and degradation caused by the caste system is not to be understood unless one has really seen it, and the call of the Christian faith is an appeal to social aspiration. India welcomes help of the right sort because India recognizes her own need. There is deep interest in social progress.

An opportunity was given Mr. Woods to present the results of his observations and inquiries before the Amer-

ican Board of Foreign Missions almost at once upon his return. The address, repeated in 1921 at the Foreign Missions Conference, was later printed under the title 'The World Empire of the Disinterested.'

He sought to emphasize 'the widening and deepening of the propaganda of deed as an essential way of instilling the meaning of the gospel into the mind and heart of the world.' Speaking in terms of his own experience he said:

> The social worker in going to the Orient sees social problems everywhere; problems of health, of home, of community life, of public morals; alcoholism, the drug problem, prostitution, gambling, blindness, beggary; the widening range of industrial problems, as the modern order trenches on the medieval. All the questions that we are struggling with are beginning to be manifest in some characteristic shape in the Orient.
>
> When we say that the great social problem there is that of the home, of the position of women, we refer fundamentally to the ethics of sex. I have been wondering whether it is not one of the broadest distinctions between Christianity and all the religions of the Orient that they in one degree or another attempt to evade the problem of sex. Christianity boldly confronts it and asserts the dominance of the human spirit in that as in other respects. What far-reaching results might come if some of our ablest specialists in sex hygiene, approaching this problem from the high Christian ethical point of view, could go to China and India and study it in the light of the latest scientific knowledge, and help high-minded Chinese and Indians to understand the whole inward reality of the situation, showing them clearly in convincing scientific terms that attempts to evade the issue, even though they have all the sanctions of thousands of years behind them, can never succeed and can only continue to undermine the best powers of heart and will. . . .
>
> The international issues of the future may lie between types of insidious and destructive propaganda on the one hand, and the full, round, world-wide enterprise of Christianity on the other, directing its appeal, without ulterior motive, to all the higher instincts of men. Even out of the pervading chaos of the moment, it is possible to discern some of the outlines of a world empire in which each community and each nation will learn both the secret and the method of its own freedom and exaltation . . . in embodying the Kingdom of God.

CHAPTER XXXIV

FORECASTING THE FUTURE

A person's conscience to be sound must have imbibed the spirit of the social group, past and present, living and dead, in which it was formed; and if in any particular it is unique or peculiar it should be transcending the realized morality of the group on lines already forecast by past experience.

Rufus M. Jones: *The Nature and Authority of Conscience*

The year of 1921 completed for Mr. Woods a cycle of thirty years; a new generation was on the scene. He was not on that account concerned for the preservation of traditions but he was constant to the principles upon which the settlements had from the start based their expectations. He was faithful to the earliest motive of blazing new trails; results there were to show for the stewardship of the 'Old Guard,' but these were but as the dawning of a new day of experience and effort — it was yet the cockcrow of the main endeavor. The movement was indeed slow after the manner of nature as he had seen in the early days before the tide of events rushed in.

The task for which he hoped for life and strength was to reaffirm his faith with a forward-moving program. He was prepared, if the situation required it, to devote full time to the raising of endowment for the South End House and for clarifying the issues involved in the steady maintenance of the settlements. Above and beyond that his mind was intent on emphasizing 'ultimate aims' with full consideration for high standards in methods of work.

In discussing 'Immediate Possibilities of Settlements' with the Boston Social Union, Mr. Woods said of the various statements that had been made that they showed a big outlook for the future, not only a pressing need but a great opportunity:

> We have a new opportunity in some of our renewed homes as a result of prohibition, and there is a possibility of a new and better kind of social relationship among those who have been the victims of the saloon.

We need to get back to first principles and to realize that the great method of influence is through organizing the more subtle influences in the life of the local community.

We need to get a balance between the doings of the settlement and the inspiration of the settlement. We need more than ever originality or better, creativeness. We need to create something that will have life and go. We have not applied ourselves to the science of getting settlement results incorporated into larger community action in a creative way so that the things we originate, the laws we put on the statute books, really are effective.

An example of ineffectual public administration which was particularly in his mind was that of the playgrounds of Boston which he and others had worked hard to get and had hoped to see successfully run on the strength of the first early experiments; they were disappointed. It was a reasonable deduction from this and similar experiences that public service must always be paralleled by a supporting active concern on the part of the citizens; the community task is never done. There must, moreover, always be leadership which must often be transfused from without to reënforce what is native to the immediate population, particularly in the fluctuating social conditions of great cities, or where social life becomes stagnant as in out of the way rural communities. The continuity which the settlement group provides, with its lessons passed on in the way of training to the young recruits, holds the hope of progress. The settlement influence should offer 'ranking object lessons,' especially in stimulating the growing understanding of a neighborhood's people as to their own responsible interest in their civic affairs.

In a letter of the year Mr. Woods wrote:

Whatever changes take place in settlement programs, the kind of leadership and spirit and practical imagination for which the settlement stands is going to be more and more necessary. There is at present a real danger that the 'Old Guard' may pass off the scene — that is, come to the end of their best years — without having been able, under the stress of things, to provide properly and soundly for the vital continuity of initiative.

When asked to make some suggestions for the Program of the National Conference of Social Work he set down these and other points:

The progress of social democracy will demand more leadership, not less, and of higher capacity. What are we doing to get the public to understand this with regard to our interests as they become embodied in governmental form and as they are taken up by coöperative community action?

Is every one an insufferable prig who undertakes to help any one else? Are we coming to a new *laissez-faire* era; or must we anticipate far more complicated human interrelations?

The new scaling of the social grades to be met by the agencies of relief, brought about by what we hope are permanently higher standards of living; the new forms of work to be undertaken; and new possibilities of coöperation with agencies of other types.

The illusion of thinking that our great causes can be institutionalized and left to run themselves. Even if this were so, the ends gained would be but fractional. They must all be parochialized and domesticated. We must make disciples of every creature. The principle with regard to our social evils must be 'the fire is not out till it is all out.'

'If we could only get people who would follow up public education, public health,' etc., says Mrs.——. In one sense, this is the ultimate objective of our whole process of social work; to produce this type of person. Pious wishes cannot accomplish this age-long task of evolving 'the coöperative man.' To do this we must constantly and publicly emphasize all the broadly educational implications of our work.

In a paper read at the Conference of Social Work in 1921 he said: 'Our local agencies are increasingly prepared to answer the kind of discerning test which looks at the inward part of what makes a citizen'; and of the settlement, 'It is bent on discovering and mobilizing the undeveloped power of the people.'

But though he felt the settlement movement to be paramount in its claim upon his thought and time he still made place for outlying interests. Chief in the list of his loyalties after the South End House was his connection with Amherst College. To him Amherst was like the institution

of the family, was indeed a kind of family connection and engaged his affections in like manner. He had many friends among the men of classes later than his own and kept in personal and responsible touch with the Delta Upsilon fraternity of which he was a member.

The time had come to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the college. The ceremonies at Commencement focussed on 'what the college has done through its alumni in shaping the life and thought of the country.' Mr. Woods was asked to give one of the addresses and was assigned the field of social work and foreign missions. His fresh acquaintance with the foreign outposts of Amherst influence suggested that it was not only the men who had established them but the statesmanship and spirit of which Amherst had been an embodiment, and of which they were the emissaries, that had determined the full measure of their contribution. 'The awakening of Asia as far as the higher education is concerned, was in the first instance and to a large extent it has been continuously, the contribution of Amherst College.' He then recalled the long succession of educational statesmen who had carried afield the inspiration of the founders.

The centenary was an incentive to think of the rounded life of the college, with especial consideration for its relation to the alumni. As this thought got moving in the minds of the group most closely knit with the affairs of the college, the question was raised as to what might be made from the genuine outflow of loyalty which had marked the anniversary alumni gift. In a reply to a letter on this score, Mr. Woods had, characteristically, a proposal to make. Along with it he drew a picture of the truly educated American man of the day, forward looking and responsive to the current of his times:

> Only a privileged few of the graduates can be attached to the college by what they can be continuously doing for it. It is particularly important to consider how the essence of their privilege can be shared. The one practicable answer seems to be that the many could be kept in continuous touch with the college

by what it could do for them; and this would result in a great volume of scattered return service, in the total, an asset of immeasurable material and spiritual value. . . .

Amherst men believe that what the college provides is of the real stuff of life; and it would be no foreign conception to them that the college should begin to take some continuous inspiring place in that cultural margin of time which to the college-bred man is no less a part of his life than his work itself. . . . On every side, we are confronted with the necessity of reaching a new and broader understanding of life as it presents itself to opposite groups of people — men and women, elder and younger, business competitors, employer and workmen, rich and poor, merchant and farmer, Protestant and Catholic, Christian and Jew. . . . Amid all these situations, the responsible man requires not only the last results of study and experience in providing information. He wants reinforcement and illumination which shall certainly help him to be and do right. He seeks that ever higher and wider perspective in which the conflict of minds is resolved. . . .

A few years have brought general conviction among business men as to the need of systematic diversion in the way of physical exercise. A few more will bring a sense of the necessity as to rightly ordered re-creation for the higher powers of the mind. . . . Something of this is indeed the next step in the logic of the newly acquired sense of the business world that college-bred men are required to meet the great tests which business to-day places upon mind, imagination and character.

A letter written to Mr. Calvin Coolidge, then Vice-President of the United States, and of the Amherst family, follows out this train of thought:

Mr. Stearns has shown me the manuscripts of your address at Springfield. I am very much impressed by the power of this particular message of yours, and by its pointed application to some present tendencies of thought. Before seeing the manuscripts I had just been reading an essay of Santayana, formerly of Harvard, and one by Shelling, the Oxford pragmatist, both of which left the reader with a very pessimistic outlook as to human progress.

The fact that character and all-round capacity for living and working with all sorts and conditions of men is a form of intelligence, and the highest form at that, does not seem to occur to these solitary thinkers.

I hope very much that you will develop your Springfield address and have it ready for some very important occasion. It could be of far-reaching service in that way.

I would like to suggest, in that connection, that you develop the idea of the broadening and deepening of moral capacity so as to show specifically how in modern terms we are building not only a better society but, even more fundamental than that, the kind of personality which can make and maintain such a society.

In that connection, I venture to send you a copy of the essay which I contributed to the Garman commemorative volume. My real thesis here is that just as original Christianity undertook not to destroy but to fulfill the law, so present-day Christian influence is endeavoring in terms of democratic association to develop and expand the process of fulfillment; and that the whole process is one of growth in intellectual and spiritual power.

On another situation with which his relations with Amherst brought him into close touch he made this comment:

The big lesson is that the liberal or radical who upsets the fundamental axioms of human relations shows himself simply the outlaw — never the prophet. I believe that biography and history will absolutely justify this position. There is no principle more important than this for the young reformer to learn, and none that contains a more important secret for the success of his cause. . . . I could preach quite a sermon, with case studies, on my thesis as to building the second table of the law on the first.

As one of the ranking successors of the benevolent past of Boston, a new responsibility fell to his care out of the shifting events at the close of a generation. He became president of the Wells Memorial Institute, an elder foundation than the settlement, created to commemorate a life of service to working people. Mr. Robert Treat Paine had been its president when Mr. Woods was starting life in Boston; through him it represented a kind of lineal descent in the best traditions of friendliness across dividing social lines. Among its members Mr. Paine had found the men who, trained by him in sound banking principles, had taken the lead in organizing the successful coöperative banks of Massachusetts. It had been part of his liberality of view

that in the face of much opposition to trade unions on his side of the lines he had accepted the Central Labor Union as a tenant in the Wells Memorial Building.

When Mr. Woods assumed direction there were some two thousand members, of whom a third were women. It is primarily an organization for adult educational pursuits but was held together through the fellowship of social clubs of working people of varied callings drawn widely from the metropolitan area. A fine spirit of comradeship gave the place an atmosphere that warmed Mr. Woods's enthusiasm in assuming the financial problem with which the Institute faced its future usefulness. Into the category of money-raising for the next ten years went the development of this familiar South End landmark at a time when the horizon of the profession of beggary was far from clear.

The post-war economic adjustments carried with them the unresolved problem of periodic unemployment. Mr. Woods found himself again dealing with it as a member of the Massachusetts Committee to promote Work appointed by the Governor. It was one of life's little ironies perhaps, that he should have been chairman of the sub-committee on 'Relief,' and once more reiterating the theme of thirty years previous, 'Public or private charitable relief ought not to be the outstanding method of dealing with unemployment.' But there could be satisfaction in the general situation nevertheless. The savings of the preceding years were drawn upon by many families instead of having gone into the tills of liquor saloons. Due to this fact, and to the well-organized relief throughout the State, the season was passed without resort to emergency measures.

Mr. Woods's mind turned very much to the consideration of sounder economic foundations. He had been for many years one of a small group of men called 'The Immigration Restriction League,' who were now to see their advance thinking accepted by the National Government. Letters of the years 1921 and 1922 suggest the persistency of his concern as to the human material that could make a nation:

I received a copy of Mr. ——'s book some time ago, and read it carefully. I do not think that he gets a good general perspective of the facts about immigrant life in this country. But I do not believe him to be farther out of the way, on his side, than are some of my social worker colleagues on theirs. I do not by any means base my theories and hopes for the country on the social philosophy of the eighteenth century; but I feel the very pathos of his appeal to the old order indicates the absolute necessity of a new truly American order, or system, or constitution, which will put us right in relation to to-day's facts, as the formulas of the fathers did for their times.

In the face of a world situation which is revealing in international terms the actualities of the conflicting maze of racial psychologies and economic interests, it is surely only a curious illustration of our easy 'manifest destiny' optimism to think that we shall develop a nation out of fifty nationalities, each compacting its own sentiments and interests, as long as we continue to give only casual, spasmodic, and sentimental attention to the situation. . . .

I certainly feel that we must settle down to a pay-as-you-go policy in the matter of our labor force — not bringing immigrants to meet temporary peak demands and then throwing them back on the community the moment their labor is not needed, but building up our normally needed labor force through a really statesmanlike handling of problems connected with production, market fluctuations, industrial training, standards of living, and birthrates.

An equally broad and thorough grappling with the problem of the various racial psychologies and cultures will be necessary in order to get at the dangers that go with racial prejudice, including of course what is bound up with American loyalty itself.

He drew up a statement of 'A National Minimum of Well-Being: How to Get It and How to Keep It.' After pointing out how substantial reductions in poverty and feeble-mindedness could be made, he went on to say:

Progressive organization of industry for human results is already under way. How far social legislation may go for the protection of standards of work and wages we may question, but it can hardly be doubted that the enforcement of a reasonable chance at life will be an essential phase of the democracy of the future.

His appreciation of the profound nature of the process is indicated by another letter framed to reply to a query as to the position that the Church might be fairly expected to take upon industrial problems:

I should like to see a study made of the more or less direct bearing of Christian pragmatism upon such questions as the following:

1. The relation to coöperative theory and experiment of existing and prospective psychological capacity for the continuous voluntary drill and discipline that is necessary to achievement through coöperation in any of its various forms.
2. The absolutely national importance of maintaining and enhancing the national product, and the degree to which the issue can be risked by broad scale experiments in industrial democracy. (I should myself presume that coöperation, when we can really arrive at it, will be more productive than competition.)
3. The effect of the equalization by contrivance on the amount of fluid capital that is necessary in order to keep up production, not to say sustain and encourage economic pioneering.
4. The relation of the movement for the equalization of wages between the sexes to the fundamental principle of the present economic system that the nation provides for its women and children (at home) through the wages of male breadwinners.
5. The possibility of dealing with economic problems in a really organic and constructive way in the interest of the whole community, without longer accepting the point of view of a 'mechanical juxtaposition' which capital and labor equally insist on maintaining.
6. Undoubtedly some of the great principles of Christianity call for a different order of society; but does Christianity itself indicate that such principles are to be applied 'head on' or are they to be guiding stars through which, by the specific and comprehensive application of other more close range principles, a set of facts will be produced under which the full idealism of Christianity will be possible of application?

It had been one of the first tenets adopted by Mr. Woods that the explanation of the settlement in the neighborhood should be by deed, with but sparing use of verbally 'explaining the work.' This policy had been so far successful

that new residents of the South End House got part of their illumination from some of the neighbors themselves who realized something of what these young people needed to know in order to be serviceable in the locality. On this common basis of understanding it became more possible to talk things over in the neighborhood councils, a phase of the work in which Mr. Woods was especially happy in all the varied associations.

A period of anniversaries was now upon us; the South End Improvement Society, having attained its ten-year majority, led the way in banqueting in the new Municipal Building, long anticipated, and born now to a long life of social service. On such occasion Mr. Woods took the responsibility of securing a speaker who would give real distinction to the event. The South End Women's Club and the South Bay Sorosis were nearing their twentieth year; a new and lusty association of landladies had come out of post-war economic adjustments to the increased price of cotton sheets; the young mothers of the scientifically reared offspring of the well-baby and dietetic clinics came into club formation for the promulgation of a new series of bright ideas as responsible members of society. The detail of all these multiplying relationships was just as vital a part of Mr. Woods's present-day concern as had been the first boys' gang that turned into a club at Rollins Street. Indeed the boys themselves as a federation had taken to banqueting during holiday festivities, something not to be missed by the Head of the House.

The time had come to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the opening of Andover House. How should it be fittingly done? The decision was left largely to the committee from the Neighborhood Association made up of representatives of families long in connection with the South Bay Union but every year recruited with new comers 'who wish to be connected with the forward-looking people of the district.'

Perhaps at no other point the world over does more consideration have to be shown for the sake of good feeling

than toward the food customs of different races and yet the 'banquet' is the *sine qua non* of celebration. In the face of such facts and the cost of living the committee dared to talk of a real affair with the caterer, his prices, and rigid limitations as to menu. But the war had trained us even to the job of catering and for a price that many more could afford, with the desirable adjustments to modes of eating, it was possible to achieve a real neighborhood feast with the 'spaghett' from the trained hand of an Italian housewife; and even to the seating of three people where two would ordinarily be expected. Pretty daughters of the company acted as waitresses, other young people produced a play, friendly musicians from other parts of the city brought the best of music, including Yiddish folk-songs first and perhaps last heard by some of the gathering in old homes in Russia.

The guests of honor brought down to date the first reaching-out of the residents of the Andover House toward the making of themselves real citizens of the locality; schoolmasters, librarian, police captain, and fire chief, the representatives of government most closely associated with the daily facts of the common life.

When the time came for the customary greetings of such an occasion, standing behind the lights of a birthday cake in size and quality worthy of the event, Mr. Woods ingeniously laid each tribute to the merit of the 'House,' the composite creation of so many associates in different walks of life, first and last, and in the brimming present.

But readily as he eschewed personal compliments, Mr. Woods was bold in his claims for the work of the settlement and its results in what thirty years before had been

one of the half-dozen most notorious city districts in the United States where a change was almost too much to be thought of. Good citizens literally or figuratively hurried by it and strove to forget it.

The residents of the South End House were studying their problem as they worked at it. They have created a manifold, beneficent conspiracy which permeates the district as a whole,

protecting and reassuring what is hopeful and as surely focussing the light on corruption and abomination until it is more and more disintegrated and eliminated.

Thirty years has brought a marked improvement in the whole civic and moral atmosphere of the district. Not to claim too much for this change in general, nor for its own share in making it, the South End House, after many struggles as an experiment and a continuous run of what has been in the nature of 'real fighting,' has demonstrated what can be done, and has shown inescapably what must continue to be done.

The need for an aggressive as well as for a steadily constructive pushing of the settlement motive came with the sag in moral enterprise which the reactions of the war produced. These particular post-war adjustments gave a darkened aspect to the important policy of creating a strong succession of younger men in social work leadership. The claims of large business opportunity and the necessity of matching in salary the high cost of living attracted college graduates away from uncertain professional openings about which they had no sure social vision. To this was added the tendency to look to an immediate career of administration without due recognition of the importance of the painstaking first-hand human contact necessary to a sound professional basis for social work or for dealing with human affairs in politics or industry. There were besides, certain combinations of forces both local and national among the directors of organized social agencies which led Mr. Woods to see the need of saying, 'Let's signal across to them that autocracy won't go,' and 'Too much talk — we want a doing organization.'

One of the handicaps of the settlement had been for some years the lack of educational material in published form based on seasoned experience. Much of the current instruction in the subject of sociology offered by colleges and universities followed the clues found in the early work of charities and correction. It dealt primarily with the pathological phase of social conditions and with the individualistic following out of cases. For such courses there was

available material in statistical form to which the student could be referred. Degeneracy of human types was a favorite theme. Social theory when offered was largely built on abstractions without the necessary 'full concreteness' of knowledge about people as social beings.

For those working in the more normal and objective round of the give and take of life there lay a responsibility for indicating the perspective of social values from another approach, showing in the foreground the quality of life that functioned normally, and in the main, progressively with reasonable response to higher incentives as they might be offered.

Mr. Woods had asked the Russell Sage Foundation when first established to finance a presentation of the work of the settlements. The original conception of an amplified handbook grew by suggestion from the Foundation into a history of the settlement movement in America, drawn from detailed information provided by the Houses throughout the country, the number of which was well toward the five hundred mark. It became a work for ten years of contemporaneous record as well as a story of origins. The able collaboration of Mr. Kennedy divided the burden. Nevertheless, for ten years any hours that could be snatched free from active affairs were devoted by Mr. Woods to his share. It even came to the point that the cherished spare room of our house was requisitioned for the writing of it in undistracting surroundings to escape the social activities which often overflowed into his office at the South End House both with sound and bodily presences. Even at 16 Bond Street he could no longer be always assured of the quiet of early days. In our rooming house neighborhood family life had gradually shown a rising tide and our corner was trysting-place for a series of boys' gangs. This exterior noise was the less baneful that the local householder had never lost that early heart-warming for the life of children on the street; raucous as it might become, there was still a kind of orchestration between its shriller notes and the subdued roar of the city. A small group of little girls from

Syrian families had grown into the way of enjoying our piano-player. Their free hours and Mr. Woods's time at home often coincided, restricting this lively gathering, so that they learned to make eager inquiry when I found them assembled on the doorstep, 'Is your father in?'

The year in which we were away was to have seen the publication of 'The Settlement Horizon'; it finally appeared in 1922. Writing to Dr. John L. Elliott, of the Settlement Fraternity, who had reviewed the book, Mr. Woods said, 'When two have for years been striving with "the biting chisel to let the angel out," and have at last hardly dared to think it could be true — that you should thus testify to the apparition is cause for one of the deepest kinds of comfort that this life affords.'

Among other prevalent reactions of this period was that of the recrudescence of the States' rights sentiment in which the anti-prohibitionist was already doing some of the stirring; other factors entered in. The Child Labor Amendment for the Federal Constitution became the object of its attack. A cudgeling of earlier convictions was going forward and Mr. Woods, being invited to change his opinion, had occasion to answer what he had already said many times to the solicitous questions of others who were making up their minds. To a member of the State Legislature he replied:

Your letter, with its enclosures about the proposed Child Labor Amendment, came just as I was leaving for ten days in the Middle West in connection with my duties as President, this year, of the National Federation of Settlements.

I have felt for many years that in the competition between the North and the South, especially in the light of the advantages possessed by the South, it was necessary that the New England textile industries should be protected by Federal standards of factory legislation.

Until recently I had understood that this view was shared by nearly everybody in this section of the country.

Of course, the fact that congressional action has been found to be impossible has changed the situation; and the weight of argu-

ment is strongly against amending the Constitution. But my own feeling is that in the long-range interest of future generations and for the sake of bringing on a more intelligent and responsible electorate in the backward sections of the country, such a step is justified in this case.

I think I realize the importance of local initiative and local responsibility. The nature of my work constantly drives home to me the importance of that principle. But that point of view seems to make it all the more clear that there are certain issues that in their very nature overflow all local bounds and become distinctly national.

My study of child labor convinced me long ago that it is of this nature; and I cannot feel that recent years have essentially altered the situation with regard to it.

For the type of legislation and administration that do thus, through the development of facts, become more or less federalized, watchfulness will be needed to see that proper local freedom and initiative are not repressed. But I am satisfied that this phase of the problem can be worked out.

As in the case of numbers of other members of the Democratic Party in Massachusetts, Mr. Woods quite naturally gave his support to Mr. Calvin Coolidge in the presidential campaign of 1924. He tells thus, in a letter, of his part:

I have been engaged almost exclusively the last six months on a study of Calvin Coolidge's career — including his year as president by succession — as a process of preparation for the presidency by choice.

My book, under the title 'The Preparation of Calvin Coolidge,' is to be published by Houghton Mifflin Company on September 23. The Republican National Committee has ordered 20,000 copies of it paper bound.

Coolidge is much misunderstood, and I found that I myself had not understood him at a number of important points. I straighten these matters out by bringing in significant facts thus far little known or not at all. I have had access to a variety of material not previously available. . . .

I try to follow the methods of the 'new biography' as exemplified especially by Gamaliel Bradford. I attempt to give a real interpretation of Coolidge's village and college life in their educational influence — this on the basis of intimate knowledge of Northern New England and the Amherst background. . . .

You will see that in so far as this is a 'campaign biography,' it is an unusual one, and will, I hope, suggest a new and more intelligent way of putting a candidate before the public. . . .

This book had come from a proposal made by Mr. F. W. Stearns. Mr. Woods gave himself to the task with a sense of recapturing his youth in the temporary absorption of a literary pursuit.

In the late spring of 1924 we retired to the Concord cottage so that the writing could be accomplished without interruption. With notes systematically arranged, the book was completed in a little over a month. A part of his own preparation lay in his understanding of the kind of people who make the common life of New England, among whom for a little while he had adventured from Andover to the New Hampshire outpost contemporaneously with Mr. Coolidge's youth in Vermont. The popular acceptance of Mr. Coolidge, in his judgment, came from the fact that so largely the people of the world are village people. They are always looking for leadership from those whom they understand and who have identity with them.

Mr. Woods's presence in the national conclaves of social workers in these closing years is remembered especially for the high emphasis that he put on things of the spirit. Among his speaking notes was this item:

A recent writer has made a suggestion toward a higher type of literature which applies no less distinctly to social relations, 'Perhaps just as science has become etherealized before the mystery of the atom so psychology may discover at the last analysis that there is a transcendental element in human beings and the artists . . . may conceive of life as a part of a divine procession in which the personal dwindles but the immortal may be exalted by a profound consciousness of cosmic purpose.'

It is an elementally disturbing and realigning social vision that we need, leading to daring uncalculated embarkations out into the new, possible, practicable social democracy in which all the charted routes of the near future for American civilization are certain to lie.

The vital part in this whole process of the patient, intimate,

neighborly coöperation and educational stimulus is often misunderstood. It is deep and full of meaning like the influence of the mother on the child. It is one of those quiet forces like the laying of straw after straw upon the balance so that the last straw will make it tilt. The last straw is likely to be in evidence and seems to do it all. This suggests at once why some of our broad-scale reformers, putting on the last straw, are sometimes unconscious and even scornful of those who have prepared the way for them.

Meanwhile the time had come to say:

The settlement movement has happily become international — bringing together kindred spirits from the different countries of Europe, from America, from the Orient. Settlement envoys as they go from country to country around the world find a peculiar fellow-feeling among those of many races and many forms of faith who are applying many ways of modern intelligence to the love of their neighbors.

The most significant impress of the visit to the Orient upon Mr. Woods's mind came from the fresh realization that the great proportion of the world's people are villagers.

The instinct which makes and keeps the village, with its germinating power, is deeply rooted in human nature. Villagers continue the essential measures for physical protection, economic coöperation, and the maintenance of moral standards.

This reënforcement to his own estimate of the true place of the neighborhood as the city-village gave strength to his urgency of the cause of the settlement as 'a special device to sustain and reënforce the sentiments and standards of the villagers who would otherwise lose themselves in the city.'

His last address, prepared for his itinerary as President of the National Federation of Settlements, he entitled 'The Villagers' World.' Not only did he draw the lesson from Russia and China as holding the world together in their stormy present by their village life as they had in ages past; he traced through history the place of the village in European civilization which in its Anglo-Saxon evolution gave strength and security to the New England colonies.

Of the present he said:

Nearly all city people in spite of their preoccupations are homesick for the old folks in the old town. For their happiness, for growth in present-day intelligence, for the flexible development of character to meet the exigencies of industry and citizenship, they need to have fresh village-like relationships promoted, and to have them finding expression through all the interests and pursuits of the good and beautiful life.

The program of nurture and vocation instituted by the settlements he saw

in a hopeful degree passing to the villages of America. When their power begins to rise above the defensive and catches the creative note of the more abundant life, the better order of things for the national will be assured. One of the surest ways of devising peace and freedom for the world is through an ever-spreading contagion of neighborliness.

One incident of traveling in Palestine made an acute impression upon him. There was no shrine on the site where the Good Samaritan was supposed to have cared for the man fallen upon by thieves. Most of the other episodes mentioned in the New Testament had been given monuments according to traditions of locality. The inn on the road to Jericho still offered rest to the wayfarer, but the good neighbor was not religiously enshrined.

Two days spent in the old village of the Samaritans, with its pathetic sectarian remnant, gave accent to this fact.

His fellow-Samaritans had for two thousand years never caught the secret for which he stood; their minds could not expand to receive the emancipation which the Galilean Master offered them; they were baffled by the conception that they should reach out to other peoples of the world and make neighbors of them.

Neither on the Samaritan mountain nor amid the cosmopolitan throng on the majestic site of the temple of Jerusalem should God be in any sense exclusively or comprehensively worshiped; the time had come when God's cause was to be served in spirit and in truth through ever-widening circles by means of all the things

that are pure and lovely and of good report expressed in terms of simple, achieved reality through the medium of the common life. It is only in such an all-comprehending Kingdom of God on earth that our necessary chosen national units, on the one hand, and on the other, our inevitable Parliament of Man and Federations of the World can find their measure and their place.

Thus, at one of the noon week-day services of King's Chapel Mr. Woods spoke his all but final message.

His last audience was a group of neighborhood women representative of all sections of Boston. It was the closing hour of three days given to the study of their city. He held them in an intense moment of rapt attention while, as if with a keener sight than ever before, he drew for them the picture of the new city that may be made to grow through the more pervading sympathies with the real humanity that lies back of all the opposing armors of our separated groups, bringing an increasing measure of social vision and of fulfillment of all his powers to each citizen.

> 'And not by eastern windows only,
> When daylight comes, comes in the light,
> In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
> But westward, look, the land is bright.'

THE END

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